Civil Rights

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X
X

December 30, 1964

Mr. Ernest Calloway
Assistant Research Director
Central Conference of Teamsters
1641 So. Kingshighway
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Cab:

On January 25-29, 1964, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee will be conducting a Conference on Labor in Tennessee for about 30-40 of its staff. At the request of SNCC, Gibbons has authorized me to send the conferees certain materials which they believe will be of assistance to them in conducting the conference. The organizers of the conference have specifically requested some of the material from the Labor in Mid America series. In addition, they have requested the organizing manual which you prepared some time ago for the Central Conference.

Since the International has none of the foregoing material on hand, I would appreciate your sending 40 copies of each item to Walter Tillow, 1625 Riverside Dr., Knoxville, Tennessee. I think that the Gibbons pamphlet on "Old Challenges and New Horizons for U.S. Unionism" would be particularly useful. With respect to your organizing manual, if you do not have enough copies of this to send, please let me know and I will have my one copy reproduced here.

Best wishes for a Happy and Healthy New Year,

Fraternally yours,

Jules Bernstein
Associate House Counsel

JB/mh

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x
x Silbur, Virginia

December 29, 1964

Mr. Einar Mohn, Vice-President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
1870 Ogden Drive
Burlingame, California

Dear Sir and Brother:

The attached correspondence from Virginia Silbur is self-explanatory.

I have been successful in getting various Joint Councils and area conferences to provide transportation for getting food and clothing to the South on similar appeals around the country.

I am sending this to you in the hope that the Western Conference of Teamsters or the appropriate Joint Council involved will be able to help the University of New Mexico people by providing transportation for the clothing they have collected.

Fraternally yours,

B. J. Gibbons
Vice-President

BJG/mc

Enclosure

Thursday, Dec. 10, 1964

Dear Mr. Gibbons,

The Action Committee On Human Rights at the University of New Mexico has been sponsoring a Mississippi clothing drive. Donna Howell is in charge and was herself a volunteer for the Summer Project. Our goal - two tons of clothing - has been reached, but the task of transporting it still remains. We want the clothes in Mississippi this winter as the cotton season extends for only a few months and the Negro is without employment during three-quarters of the year.

Can you help us in any way with transportation? We hear you have done some charity work and would be most thankful to learn of all possibilities for getting this much needed clothing from Albuquerque to Jackson. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Virginia Silber

Virginia Silber
2710 Silver SE
Albuquerque, N.M.

RECEIVED
L.B. of L.
C.M.A. & M. Of A.
DEC 11 10 34 AM 1950
OFFICE OF
GENERAL PRESIDENT

AFTER FIVE DAYS RETURN TO
Virginia Silber
2710 Silver SE
Albuquerque, New Mexico
ZIP CODE
PM
10 DEC
AIR MAIL
U.S. AIR MAIL
Mr. Harold Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
National Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Office of the General President

August 5, 1964
DATE

To: General Secretary-Treasurer English

From: James R. Hoffa

Re: Civil Rights Rally - Chicago, Illinois, June 21, 1964

This will authorize the issuance of a check in the amount of $1,000.00 to the "Illinois Rally for Civil Rights" to be sent to Donald Peters, President, Teamsters Local Union No. 743, Chicago.

James R. Hoffa
General President

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x Contributions
x

JRH/alb

Office of the General Secretary-Treasurer

To: Mr. James R. Hoffa, President

From: John F. English

Subject: Local Union No. 743, Chicago, Illinois

The attached photocopy of a letter from the subject local union is referred to you for disposition.

8-4-64
DATE

JFE/jmd

John F. English
JOHN F. ENGLISH
GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

WAREHOUSE AND MAIL ORDER
Employees Union • LOCAL 743

AFFILIATIONS: International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen & Helpers of America • Central Conference of Teamsters; Teamsters Joint Council No. 25

220 S. ASHLAND BOULEVARD
CHICAGO 7 • HAYMARKET 1-5530

DONALD PETERS, PRESIDENT
JOHN BURKZINSKI, VICE PRESIDENT
STEPHEN S. JAROLIN, SEC'Y-TREASURER
ADOLPH WILL, SECRETARY

TRUSTEES
KENNETH HESTER
HYMAN GAVZER
FRANCIS CAREY

July 31, 1964

Mr. William Mullenhols, Comptroller
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Sir and Brother:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation on July 30th, I am sending you the following information for your action.

About the second week in June, General President Hoffa authorized my committing the International Union for $1000.00 for the Civil Rights Rally held in Soldiers Field on June 21, 1964, at which time 75,000 people attended and the Teamsters received proper recognition.

The Secretary in Mr. Hoffa's office in Chicago was to talk to someone in the Washington office, but evidently communications broke down somewhere along the line.

The check should be made out to the "Illinois Rally for Civil Rights". Please send check to me and I will see that it gets into the proper hands.

Thanking you for your attention, I am

Fraternally yours,

Donald Peters

DONALD PETERS,
President.

DP:leh

Telefax WESTERN UNION Telefax

LLE197 OTB165

CT CP142 PD FAX CHICAGO ILL 25 1226P CDT

HAROLD GIBBONS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT INTL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

25 LOUISIANA AVE N.W. WASHDC

PUNSUANT TO TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH YOU FROM MYSELF AND FROM SID LENS, I WOULD LIKE TO REQUEST THAT THE TEAMSTERS PROVIDE TRANSPORTATIONN FOR ABOUT 100,000 POUNDS OF BOOKS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT TO GO TO MISSISSIPPI FOR USE IN THE MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT INVOLVING MANY CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS. YOUR GREAT CONTRIBUTION A YEAR AGO IN SHIPPING FOOD TO GREENWOOD MISSISSIPPI HAD A TREMENDOUS EFFECT, AND WE ARE CERTAIN THAT HIS SUMMER PROJECT MAY WELL CREATE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES ALSO. PLEASE ADVISE US IF THIS IS POSSIBLE SINCE THE TIME IS SHORT. PLEASE WIRE YOUR REPLY TO CHICAGO AREA FRIENDS OF SNCC, 765 E. OAKWOOD BLVD. CHICAGO 60653. TELEPHONE 268-5077. FRATERNALLY YOURS.

1270W (1-55)

WESTERN UNION

CI (B142/

CHARLES H FIRCHER TREASURER
00,000 SNCC 765 E 60653 268-5077
.50).

Jeannette is calling Ray Schlesing
re this for JRH
6/26/64

RECEIVED
L.B. OFF.
C.W. & M. OF A.
JUN 25 2 51 PM 1964
OFFICE OF
GENERAL VICE-PRESIDENT

1270W (1-51)

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

Civil Rights

X Richard Charles H.

X

WESTERN UNION

SSA136 N CC053 LONG PD 10 EXTRA CHICAGO ILL 20 933A CDT
HAROLD GIBBONS, VICE PRES, INTL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
WASHDC
PURSUANT TO YOUR PHONE CONVERSATION WITH SIDNEY LENS, AND MINDFUL
OF THE TEAMESTERS WONDERFUL CONTRIBUTIONS OF TRANSPORTATION
LAST YEAR IN OUR FOOD DRIVE FOR MISSISSIPPI, WE ARE AGAIN PLEADING
FOR A SIMILAR CONTRIBUTION TO OUR MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT.
WE ESTIMATE THAT WE HAVE COLLED ABOUT 75,000 POUNDS OF MATERIALS,
MOSTLY EDUCATIONAL, FOR THE FREEDOM PROJECTS THERE. WILL YOU
PLEASE ADVISE ME IF IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR THE TEAMSTER TO
HANDLE THIS FOR US
MRS CHARLES FISHER CO CHAIRMAN CHICAGO AREA FRIENDS OF MOORE
EAST MADISON PARK CHICAGO
933A.

RECEIVED C.W.&A.C.F. JUN 22 9 OFFICE OF GENERAL PRESIDENT

mailed to Chicago 6/20/64

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x
x Fisher, Charles (Mrs.)

SPECIAL REPORT

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

C H A R L O T T E

BY

PAT WATTERS

May, 1964

POPULATION

	1950		1960	
	Charlotte	Mecklenburg County*	Charlotte	Mecklenburg County*
Total	134,042	197,052	201,564	272,111
Negro	17,587	23,769	57,059	66,761
Percent, Negro	28	25.4	28	24

Thia ia an effort to tell of the progress Charlotte haa made in race relationa. It ia confined to the accounts and viewa of those who participated in the progress, the leadera and people of Charlotte. In brief, these people tell what happened, how it happened, why it happened, what the aituation ia now, and what ia the outlook for the future. How the people directly involved view these things seems to ua an important dimenaion of what actually has and will take place.

The City Hall of Charlotte covers a square block on Eaat Trade Street, in an area of the downtown devoted to

*The metropolitan area of Charlotte comprises all of Mecklenburg County.

government buildings (the massive Mecklenburg County Courthouse is on the next square block), an urban renewal project clearing out a Negro slum called Brooklyn which had been regarded for many years as the city's worst, and a few blocks of small businesses, including a fish and oyster market, and pawn shops, one featuring in a window a gold-framed, tinted photograph of the late John F. Kennedy for $7.50. A little farther on, beyond a railroad overpass, East Trade joins Tryon Street at the "square," the shopping and business and financial center of the city. Here, the white-glinting Wachovia Bank Building dominates a grouping of old and new skyscrapers which, along with dressed-up windows of the smartest shops, invoke the mood and tempo of the standard American city. (A planning consultant's firm warns that despite its strengths, the downtown needs more attractions, high-rise apartments, better parking to avoid debilitation from surburban shopping center competition.) A fine planting of old and city-blackened trees are on the lawn of the big, concrete city hall, with its massive round columns, and in some of the trees there are bird-houses. One of the first things that stands out when you enter the high-ceilinged, wide-hall main floor of this southern city hall is a young Negro woman among the clerical staff of the Water Department,

seated behind the bill-payment counter. (In another government building acroas the street, a Negro man asks where is the welfare department, facing a sign, "Entrance--Welfare Department.")

It ia here amid the typical trappings of the seat of municipal political power, including the grimly painted police department with its grisly display of burglar tools in a glaaa caae, and the paatel-tinted, sunshine-lit offices of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Education Department, that a atudy like thia begina. From here, like the dozen of interaecting and right angling streets that form patterna and aquarea and rectangles off the main arteries of downtown, the atory moves out of the city. It moves to the big office buildings, the offices of Negro professionals the faahionable homes of civic leaders, a noise-surrounded alum, the city rooms of newspapers, with tempting sidetrails off into the legend of Daddy Grace and W. J. Cash, and into the living legend of the cluttered office of Harry Golden, into banks, stores, restaurants, the omnipotent Chamber of Commerce, Negro funeral homes, churches, all of theae interconnected and influencing one another, like crisa-crossings of streets.

On the second floor of City Hall in an old-fashioned office with modern design furniture, Mayor Stan R. Brookshire, dapper in a buainess suit and richly polished loafers, a man of medium height with graying blond hair, heavy-rim

glasses tinted faintly blue, talked easily, genially, carefully.

It was, he said, a combination of "social consciousness, civic pride, and economic considerations" which moved Charlotte in the Spring and early Summer of 1963 to desegregate voluntarily its leading hotels and motels, "90% of its restaurants," and its first class movie theatres.

(Previously, the city had desegregated its auditorium and coliseum, lunch counters, its schools, library, buses, bus drivers, police department, parks and their swimming pools, community services, Medical Association, to some extent its colleges and hospitals, and its ministerial association.)

Mayor Brookshire told of how a new wave of demonstrations in the Spring of 1963 was sweeping through other North Carolina cities, "terrifically embarrassing those cities," and how negotiations were underway on desegregation of Charlotte's public accommodations. Owners were all "a little afraid to move independently," fearing economic repercussions. Then he recalled the proud story, familiar to all Charlotte, of what happened next.

The mayor and J. Ed Burnside, Sr., wealthy small-loans financier, then president of the 4,500 member, vigorous Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, had a talk on Sunday, May 19.

They agreed to call the Executive Committee of the Chamber together to see what could be done about the danger of a demonstration crisis. Eleven of the 15 members of the committee were present for the meeting. Mr. Burnaide asked what they thought should be done. A motion waa made and passed unanimously, and the next day the Chamber's board of directors, 24 of the 39 members, was confronted with a one-sentence resolution: "We, the directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all buainess in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color." It waa paased unanimously. Expression of dissent was encouraged; none came.

Then there were meetings with the owners of the segregated accommodations. "We wanted them to know that the business leadership of this community felt that this was the right thing to do," Chamber Executive Vice President Charles Crawford waa quoted as ssying, in a behind-the-scenes atory in the Charlotte Observer by City Editor L. M. Wright, Jr.

Deaegragation followed: first, the hotels and motels; then the restaurants; then the theatres. Reluctance of many restaurant owners was overcome when one of them suggested that the Chamber officials bring the first Negroes to lunch or dinner as guests in a staged "trial" desagregation. This was done, with arrangements for these

public appearances made by the Mayor's Community Relations Committee, a bi-racial organization to improve race relations. White and Negro leaders who participated in these impressive, staged desegregation dinners recalled them with pride, and a certain amount of awe. "A few people glanced up, then went on eating. There was no trouble," said Mr. Burnside of his party's entrance into a hotel dining room.

The mayor's Committee also organized test attendance by selected Negroes for the first desegregation of movies. For some reason, there was a good deal of concern built up in Charlotte over the emotional impact of Negroes being seated there in the dark of the movie theatres, a fear that in this city, which had already desegregated its swimming pools without incident, white reaction would be strong. It failed to materialize. "We saw a lot of terrible movies," said a Negro who participated.

Mr. Wright's story summed up the situation thus: "Charlotte chose a different way. In Birmingham, hundreds were marching in the streets. Closer to home, protesters sat all day in the mayor's office in Greensboro, and were carried out by police when the time came to close the office for the day. In Raleigh and Durham they marched, and they were arrested. In Wilmington, in Fayetteville, in Lexington, they protested. But Charlotte chose a different way..."

That Mayor Brookshire played a key role in what happened and in creating a climate in which it might happen is generally agreed upon in Charlotte. The turning point for Charlotte, according to Charles M. Lowe, anothar prominent businessman who is chairman of the county commission, began at a meeting of the Chamber's Executive Board "six or seven years ago." Mr. Lowe, active in the Charlotte Council on Human Relstions and considered a liberal on race, had received permission to appeal to members of the Executive Board for merit employment. He said he knew that privately all there agreed with him. But Mr. Brookshire, a sales engineer who grew up in the small North Carolina town of Troutman, waa the only man there who got up and said so publicly. So when Mr. Brookshire was elected mayor, said Mr. Lowe, and with his friend Bd Burnside at the head of the Chamber, he falt assured of good things for Charlotte.

"The mayor and Burnside did it," said Mr. Lowe, "People thought they were such fine men they would not lead them astray."

Mayor Brookshire handed over a story about his receiving the silver medallion of the National Conference of Chriatians and Jews on 1964 Brotherhood Day. It told of hia gradual realization after the Supreme Court decision on schools that racial discrimination was unchristian and unjuat. Mayor Brookshire cited the circumstances of his

election for a first term in 1961 as an important key to what he has been able to achieve. He did not receive the support of the majority of Negro voters. This went instead to a woman candidate, Mrs. Martha Evans, who had long been outspoken in support of liberal causes, including Negro concerns. Mr. Brookshire, who had been chairman of the United Appeal in 1956, head of United Community Services in 1957, president of the Chamber in 1960, was an accepted part of the business "power structure." He conceded that his decision to run in 1960 had "tie ins" with businessmen's doubts about other candidates, including Mrs. Evans.

The lack of Negro support, he said, enabled him to act on race relations without unfair political interpretations. He had "no commitments" to the Negro vote; he could act "in the best interests of all citizens."

The second time he ran, in the Spring of 1963, he had the Negro vote. Probably one of the most revealing facts about Charlotte's general frame of mind is that, despite Mr. Brookshire's record on race, and despite the fact that the build-up to a showdown on public accommodations had begun, race was not an issue, was not mentioned during the campaigning.

The astonishing and heartening reaction to the desegregation breakthrough was described by Mayor Brookshire. (He pointed out -- and all others agreed -- that there is no

organized segregationist movement in Charlotte and no vocal segregationist leader.) There were only a few local telephone calls and letters of protest. There was national acclaim, even international, with radio Free Europe and Voice of America doing special programs on the achievement, and write-ups in national magazines. Conventions have increased, and new industries have come in, as a result of the action, he said and, most importantly, the people of Charlotte responded with cooperation and pride.

Things, he said, have worked out splendidly at the desegregated facilities. There is a general feeling that Negroes wanted the rights more than they wanted to take advantage of using them. There had been recently, in February 1964, trouble at a few restaurants still holding out. The most notable of these were high-toned, supper clubbish places, nine in all, and all with Greek owners. There were various theories in Charlotte as to reasons for their reluctance, including one that they feared resultant prejudice against themselves. City Editor Wright in an interview said most had been about to go along in 1963, but they had got together at a Greek wedding on the weekend before a decision had to be made, and among themselves agreed to hold out. A sit-in had occurred in February at a recently opened place, the

Houae of Beef. When the owner turned the sit-ins away, all his Negro help quietly walked out. Mayor Brookshire expressed confidence it would all be cleared up through communicatior. "If we can keep the confidence of one another," he aaid, "we are in good position to handle problems intelligently, a good position for racial accord."

The likeliest future trouble spots, he said, will be in contacts among individuals. "People get excited." (A curaory reading of news stories over the past ten years shows an occasional burst of raw violence among individual Negroes and whitas in Charlotte -- fist fights, rock throwing, even shootings. These seem isolated, unconnected with any desagregation development of the moment.)

"Our Negroes," Mayor Brookshire also said, "in Charlotte take considerable pride in their own race... They prefer their own churches. There is no effort to cross to white churchea... They have some fine neighborhoods, and are anxious to preserve their quality."

On joba, the mayor said, there are "more doors of opportunity open on merit basis than we can find Negro applicanta for." Utilities, banks, the governments, he said, were actively seeking qualified Negro clerical help. He apoke with pride of Negro police and of the Negro employe of the water department "in plain view."

He talked of the Mayor's Community Relations Committee as the largeat factor in continued good race relations. When he came into the office, there was a mayor'a Friendly Relations Committee, appointed by his predeceaaor during the original sit-ins of 1960. It had been dormant since then, and, in Mayor Brookshire's terms, was largely a thing "to put out fires." He "reconstructed" it for "productive efforts to correct causes of trouble."

Asked what the city had learned from its experience with auch a committee, Mayor Brookshire said the most important lesaon had been the necessity that all negotiations be in good faith. There has to be "understanding, good will, and cooperation." Thia can create the necessary climate in which progress can "be made, accepted, and supported." The other important thing learned, he said, is that race relations ia a matter of dealing with people. "When Negroes approach with militancy and threata, it is a matter of saying to them: 'Look, we can't fight and cooperate... Which do you want to do?'"

Behind all the recent progress, the mayor said, has been the previous record of the city. "We got past many problema early that are atill bothering other communities."

Why? "It ia probably just a willingness of this community to be more progressive, to accede to reasonable requeata," said Mayor Brookshire. At another point, he conceded that "to be basically honest," he would have to

say that the city had not moved on any recent racial programs "without threat."

What of the future? The mayor handed over two of his recent speeches. The following quotations from them typify the spirit and the approach of the mayor of Charlotte:

> Two hundred new manufacturing concerns, 900 new retail and service outlets and 450 new wholesale firms, together with growth and expansion of old firms, have provided 55,000 new jobs in Charlotte which we did not have 15 years ago.
>
> Total employment in Charlotte now stands at 135,000, producing an annual payroll of more than 400 million dollars. It is interesting to note that 17,000 people from surrounding counties commute to Charlotte to work...
>
> Charlotte's retail business comes to 350 million dollars per year and our wholesale sales exceed two billion dollars annually, representing an increase of 75% during the past 15 years... More than 36,000 new dwelling units have been built in Charlotte in the past 15 years.
>
> Charlotte is a regional city, populous, prosperous, and progressive, with a proud past and a promising future, enhanced by the trend towards urbanization, occupying a strategic geographic position almost in the center of the two Carolinas, midway between the mountains and the seashore, and equa-distant between Richmond and Atlanta... At our present explosive growth rate we should have near one-half million by 1980, and perhaps a million by the end of the century...
>
> * * *
>
> The current movement of Negroes to secure equal citizenship rights and opportunities is just, and by the same token, discrimination based on ethnic differences is wrong -- both morally and legally...
>
> Although current racial problems are national in scope, each and every community must face them

and seek to find its own solutions...

The best approach is through bi-racial cooperation, with an involvement of total leadership, both white and Negro...

Progress is limited to the speed with which attitudes can be changed and voluntary cooperation can be gained...

The overall problem of racial conflict can be converted to an opportunity of raising the level of citizenship and building better communitiea, by making more of our citizens self-respecting, self-supporting and responsible members of society, thereby attacking many of our civic problems of poverty, slums and crimes...

Many hundreds of community agencies in Charlotte, most prominent of which is our Chamber of Commerce, through strong leadership, are making contributions to the on-going of our city and region.

Tangible efforts to build a better city, and to meet the challenges of both present and future, can be seen in our programs of slum clearance, zoning, thoroughfare planning, expansion of city services, fiscal matters, race relations, and our attack on crime, delinquency and poverty.

(The mayor also handed over a copy of the Declaration of Independence of Mecklenburg County. It is dated May 20, 1775, a year before the one of all the colonies. Historians argue over its authenticity, but there seems to be no question at all that Charlotte is the place called by Lord Cornwallis during the Revolutionary War "a damned hornet's nest of insurrection." The Charlotte of the past immortalized this in its city seal, fastidiously omitting the "damned." Such local hall marks of American antiquity seem entirely left out of the consciousness of the new

Charlotte with ita glass and brick skyscrapers, its regional headquartera and financial centers, and its movement of induatry toward chemistry and computers. The ancient cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church occupies a square block in the center of the business district, but many of its old headstones are toppled and broken. The church, built in 1832, rebuilt in 1894, occupies the adjoining square block, sending a thin spire fragilely up among the skyscrapers. The first aettlera came in 1748; "Charlotte town" was chartered in 1768; it knew a gold rush in the 1890'a, with a federal mint eatabliahed (now an art museum); it knew plantations before the Civil War, the last meeting of Jefferson Davis's Confederate Cabinet, and cotton mills as its main industry until relatively recently.

Like nearly everyone in Charlotte, Mayor Brookshire had his own version of the immediate events leading up to the big desagregation breakthrough in 1963. (Everyone agreed on what happened in public. Disagreement was on such matters as motive.)

Said Mayor Brookshire: through the Mayor's Committee there had been a tentative agreement in early Spring of 1963 for desagregation of hotels and motels during the International Trade Fair (another of the civic feathers Charlotte had plucked for its hat). But when the fair waa over, thinga reverted to segregation as usual. Negroes,

mainly the student protest movement at Johnson C. Smith University, were threatening to picket. But "there was not a single demonstration in Charlotte last year." The only thing approaching one was the holding of services on May 20 by Negroes at the courthouse in honor of Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence Day. Not it, but the pressure and the events across the rest of the South prompted the action by the Chamber of Commerce.

Many things about Charlotte's past, present and future can be seen by comparing the mayor's version of 1963 with that of Dr. Reginald A. Hawkins, a Negro dentist and ordained Presbyterian minister. The name of Dr. Hawkins inevitably comes up in a discussion of Charlotte race relations. He is either condemned as a hot-head (and highly effective) stirrer of trouble, or praised as the most effective of Negro leaders, responsible for most progress. Interestingly, the praise more often comes from white liberals than Negro leaders.

Here is how Dr. Hawkins, in an office of his modern glaas brick clinic across town (with stylized African glaas statuary on the waiting room walls), recalled the same events described by Mayor Brookshire.

Hotels, the mayor, the Chamber of Commerce and others were asked by the Negroes before the 1963 Trade Fair began to conaider desegregation. They gave a "wavering response."

In April, there was a "dry run" on the Johnson C. Smith campus of a demonstration for possible staging during the fair to embarrass the many national and foreign dignitaries expected. Governor Sanford, said Dr. Hawkins, asked for a delay of the demonstration; "he felt he could get the power structure to move." So, Dr. Hawkins said, he went before the atudents and asked them to delay a demonstration planned for a Saturday a week before the Trade Fair was to open. He said he gave the city leaders an ultimatum that the demonstration would occur the following Saturday unless dessgregation occurred by Thursday. Eight hotels and motels, he said, agreed but they wanted anonymity. They were tested during the Trade Fair, but nearly all, he said, denied being desegregated.

Plans were underway to attempt to swear out warrants under an old innkeeper's law of North Carolina requiring service by hotels to all seeking it. Then came Birmingham, and, in the midst of its atmosphere, the March on the Declarstion of Independence Day (May 20). Dr. Hawkins said that at the time, city leaders were "threatened" with a march of 10,000 later in the month when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. would be in the city to speak at the Johnson C. Smith Commencement, unless desegregation had occurred by then. He also claimed that the Chamber of Commerce resolution had been written before May 20, with his participation in drawing it up.

"They are lying when they say that they did it all on their own," he declared. He said "they" were angry about being forced to act, until praise from the reat of the country poured in. "Then they dehumanized me -- aaid they did it in spite of me."

He alao said: "Everything that's been done, I've had a hand in forcing... everything that they praise themselves for. They give no credit to me. It's the old pattern of dehumanization."

Dr. Hawkins said he considered his civil rights work in Charlotte a mission of his ministry and expressed the hope that by the time he is 50, in 14 years, he can be retired from both dentistry and civil rights and become an overseas miasionary, perhaps in Africa or Latin America.

A native of Charlotte, he graduated from Johnson C. Smith, and went on to Howard College for the D.D.S. degree. He served in World War II and the Korean War, and during this military experience -- partly out of the influence of a Jewish roommate who used to discuss religion with him -- came his strong turn to religion. He went back to Johnson C. Smith and earned a Bachelor of Divinity degree. He is active in Presbyterian Church work, including its regional race relations organization. He also holds an honorary LL.D. from Johnson C. Smith.

"We will keep at it in Charlotte," Dr. Hawkins said, "until we get an open society. This is the human approach;

it includes all the people. They /the white leaders/ don't like to be coerced, but they are happy afterward. Then there is reconciliation." He also said: "I was the first ever to challenge them and beat them. There were vicious reprisals... But now they are coming around because I've built up political power." He said he had organized enough Negro voters to "swing any election."*

Dr. Hawkins conceded that in the recent past "we have had success in Charlotte. We can tell of breakthroughs in every area..."

He said that he had used "administrative procedures" to force desegregation, as far as it had gotten, at Memorial Hospital through pressure from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

He said he had protested voter registration hours, including none at night or on Sundays and holidays, and what he termed the firing of registrars he had gotten to take registration on holidays. He said he had caused an FBI investigation of such charges and of another that several thousand Negroes had been dropped from the voting lists because letters delivered to their registered address had been returned, they having moved elsewhere in the city. He said he had filed a suit to desegregate the local Dental Society, not winning the suit but forcing the society to give up appointive powers to state boards.

---

*According to May 1964 estimates, there are approximately 15,000 Negro voters in Mecklenburg County, equalling about 15% of the total electorate.

He said he had warned against establishment of two segregated city colleges; the previously all-white one is now desegregated and the Negro one down to 66 day students. And he said he has written housing officials concerning desegregation of public housing.

The problems, he said, are all interwoven. In politics, schools, housing, hospitals, the YMCA, even professional societies, the people he has to deal with are the same.

Charlotte, Dr. Hawkins said, is presently a dangerous city, "more immoral than Birmingham." He said breakthrough come under pressure only, and then it's back to business as usual. Like the others, he listed as major problems, unemployment, housing, and schools.

Charlotte, he said, is as ripe for a campaign against tokenism as were Atlanta and Chapel Hill, scenes of protest demonstrations at the time of the interview. "We don't want," he said, "these other cities like Jackson, Birmingham and the cities in eastern North Carolina to become like this one."

His understanding of the mood of the white community was that it would budge no more in any area unless forced by him.

Then he outlined his "new approach" for making the white community budge. He said it was through the

"administrative procedure" approach he had used on hospitals. ("Demonstrations can take many forma, like bringing in the federal government...") He said he had been studying federal government regulations back over 16 years, and he knew which agencies could do what, and had access to them.

A crisia, he said, must be provoked through demonstrations or administrative procedures. "Negotiation first is no good." He pointed to negotiations then underway on the Greek restauranta and an airport motel (on urban renewal land) as a reault of the walk-out the previous week of kitchen help at one of the Greek restaurants. He said ha engineered that.

"We've never had a demonstration siege here," he aaid. "And this approach has worked."

He said he didn't expect any violence in Charlotte, because of "mutual respect" of whites and Negroes. "They know I'm not violent... If we keep moving, there'll be no violence, but there must be no letting up."

Aa for the approach of the mayor's bi-racial committee (of which he is not a member): "Other Negro leaders have bean won over... City Hall and the power atructure want people who will say what they want to hear... They triad it on me -- honors and all. But they haven't come to me with the American Dream -- equal opportunity, the right to vote, respect for my human dignity..."

"I am not satisfied with Charlotte as it is," said Dr. Hawkina. "I will not cooperate with an evil system."

"Woe to them," said Dr. Hawkins, quoting the prophet Amoa, "who are at ease in Zion and to those who feel aecure in the Mountain of Samaria."

The office of J. Ed Burnside in a new modernistic building which he owns, is quietly splendid, with plenty of shelvea and space. One wall is decorated with beautifully done model automobiles, another with plaques and certificates honoring him, including an "Outstanding Community Service Award," and a "Man of the Year" award.

He said that the secret of what had happened in Charlotte was the extraordinary influence of the Chamber of Commerce. "Anything they back goes over."

Aa outgoing president, he had to appoint 51 committees involving every aspect of governmental and public life in the community. "Of all that I asked to serve as chairman, only one refused and he had a good excuse," said Mr. Burnside. "That's what makes it tick." Through efforts of previous presidents, said Mr. Burnside, the Chamber by the time he became president was the prestige organization of the city.

That's the thing that helped the mayor put it over, he said. "The prestige leaders took a stand."

He recalled that his own preacher, Dr. Carlyle Marney of the powerful Meyers Park Baptist Church, said, after watching the Chamber Board of Directors approve the desegregation resolution, "The Temple has moved downtown."

"He might be right," said Mr. Burnside. He emphasized the unanimity of business leadership in the action. At the executive committee meeting, "I brought up the question. I didn't tell where I stood." One man made the recommendation, the vote was unanimous, and a committee was appointed to draw up the desegregation resolution. It was approved unanimously the next day by the board of directors. "There was not a single vote of dissent. No one even suggested hesitation."

Reaction, he said, was almost universally favorable. Ninety per cent of the City Club membership congratulated him afterward, said it was the best thing he had ever done. (The City Club is the exclusive downtown luncheon club in Charlotte, with its own dining room, complete with a special roped-off "bull-pen" where members who come alone can find luncheon companions.) Hundreds of letters poured in from all over the country. New industries were attracted, including the Eastern Air Lines Computer Center, which -- given federal policies and attitudes -- probably couldn't have been without the race relations breakthrough, he said.

Through it all, though, Mr. Burnside said, it was emphasized that the move was made because it was morally right -- not for economic reasons.

Mr. Burnside echoed Mayor Brookshire in making another point. "I don't believe this is a church problem. It has to be solved downtown." A church, he said, is a group of people who combine because they like each other socially -- and he didn't mean that they are country clubs. In practice, there had been no trouble at Charlotte churches. Negroes had come to services, been seated and didn't return.

He told of attending a discussion with a Negro group, headed, "by a young man named Willie Davis." He was invited as the only white man into a Negro home to discuss race relations with a group of Negroes. "I told them there are many whites who have never seen a Negro Ph.D. There are many instances where white persons have told me, after meeting prominent Charlotte Negroes, "those are as nice people as I have ever seen." He said he went on to tell the Negro group "there is more segregation in your own race than between whites and Negroes..." He told them the story of how he had taken his own Negro chauffeur and yardman to the annual Chamber of Commerce dinner, and how this man had been snubbed by other Negroes ("big shots") at the table. (The Chamber of Commerce is desegregated, he pointed out, with 22 or 23 Negro members "with all privileges.")

Mr. Burnside told how he had been moved to action in behalf of better race relations. He spoke softly: "In Japan, I met a Japanese couple and their son. They wanted him to go to Duke. I agreed to sponsor him. When he got here, I had him over... took him to church with my family. Now his family had killed our American boys in the war, and here I was giving him benefits -- and I waan't doing anything for the boy who is black..."

As for the future, Mr. Burnside said there is only one agitator in town, and that he has "no more than two per cent" of the Negro population in his following.

Negroea ought to be on the city council and the board of education, he aaid. One factor that has prevented it ia in-fighting among leaders.

The gap between white and Negroes, said J. Ed Burnside, a aelf-made man, a South Carolinian who has, by his own words, "come a long way," in race relations and material aucceaa, can be overcome if all concerned will "shoulder their reaponaibilities."

"We muat carry our part of the load."

Tha Chamber president who succeeded Mr. Burnside is John Belk, president of Belk Stores, headquartered in Charlotte, and operator of one of its largest department atorea. He waa less communicative, saying he preferred to be interviewed over the telephone.

He aaid the only problem in Charlotte was "colored people." In explanation: "The Lord made some white and some colored..."

Baaically, he went on, the race problem is an economic problem... "It's like a man and his wife, something that will never get aolved." But: "We have some real nice colored gentlemen to work with."

There are a lot of advantages Negroes never had which they deaerve, Mr. Belk said. But there are some people who just want to cause trouble. With those not so motivated, he said, "we are willing to work for common goals." He said the Mayor'a Committee is the agency "to put things acrosa -- if the people want them..."

He aaid, too, he had met and talked with the Negro diacuaaion group, from eight until midnight recently. "They think they would like to be white... They've made a lot of headway. But the offended brother is hard to heal... I don't see how he ia offended..."

He complained of the many varieties of Negro leaders, mentioning the NAACP and CORE, and expressing relief that Charlotte didn't have as many Communists and "Moslems" aa other towns... "We've got the best people in the country..."

He aaid civil rights had certainly become a big thing. "Politics is on a rat race with it. Education is on a rat

He said the only problem in Charlotte was "colored people." In explanation: "The Lord made some white and some colored..."

Basically, he went on, the race problem is an economic problem... "It's like a man and his wife, something that will never get solved." But: "We have some real nice colored gentlemen to work with."

There are a lot of advantages Negroes never had which they deserve, Mr. Belk said. But there are some people who just want to cause trouble. With those not so motivated, he said, "we are willing to work for common goals." He said the Mayor's Committee is the agency "to put things across -- if the people want them..."

He said, too, he had met and talked with the Negro discussion group, from eight until midnight recently. "They think they would like to be white... They've made a lot of headway. But the offended brother is hard to heal... I don't see how he is offended..."

He complained of the many varieties of Negro leaders, mentioning the NAACP and CORE, and expressing relief that Charlotte didn't have as many Communists and "Moslems" as other towns... "We've got the best people in the country..."

He said civil rights had certainly become a big thing. "Politics is on a rat race with it. Education is on a rat

race with it. Charity is on a rat race with it. Religion is on a rat race with it. The solution is economic..." He gave charity as an example. "The whites are willing to help. But we'd like the colored race to help too... It takes time..."

Asked about the hope by Charlotte to receive money from the North Carolina Fund, an effort across the state to attack the roots of poverty, Mr. Belk said that the Bible says we will always have poverty. "It can't ever be eliminated." Shouldn't anyone try? "If we give up, we might as well be dead..."

Concern in Charlotte over race, Mr. Belk concluded, is a temporary thing. It will be shifted down. He described as the important things facing his Chamber administration, the development of regional planning for the Charlotte area, and the development of a university in Charlotte as part of the state university system. He discussed them at some length, and spoke also of efforts to bring the Metropolitan Opera to Charlotte for seven days.

In the middle of all Charlotte's race problems (and at the center of most of the interviews) is the Mayor's Committee on Community Relations. Charlotte's first bi-racial council was established during the sit-ins, in March 1960. It was called the Mayor's Friendly Relations

Committee. Mayor Brookshire changed its name and the membership and put it on a regular meeting basis, but he did not change the chairman. Having it headed by Dr. John R. Cunningham, distinguished former president of Davidson College, eminently respected and respectable, is considered a master stroke. At the dignified office, in the city's biggest building, of the Presbyterian Foundation, Inc., of which he is executive director, Dr. Cunningham, thin, gray, austerely genial, spoke the language and the accent of refinement which distinguished higher reaches of southern education and religion of a generation ago.

He had only recently moved to Charlotte, on retiring from Davidson after 16 years as president, when he was asked to head the Friendly Relations Committee. "I never dreamed it would be more than the lunch counter thing... It has come to be almost a half-time job... I never dreamed we would be facing up to a revolution."

He said he was very glad Charlotte had responded to the Mayor's foresight as it had. The chief duty of the committee had been to serve as a channel of communication. "A lot of problems are solved by this alone."

A fact sheet, which Dr. Cunningham wrote about the committee, lists 27 members -- one-third Negro, two-thirds white, representative of the population proportions. Members past or present have included, among whites, editors

of both papers, a member of City Council, two ministers, two doctors, a Douglas Aircraft official, three church-women; and among Negroes, two ministers, a banker, an undertaker, an insurance man, a doctor, a teacher, a professor's wife. (Dr. Cunningham said in the interview that extremists of either race were avoided.)

Subcommittees are on economic opportunities, housing, education, health, and crime... The Committee meets every second Tuesday "in the beautiful Board Room of the Duke Endowment." Dr. Cunningham wrote, "I would emphasize the importance of regular meetings. Even when there is no tension and when we have no special problem before us, we discover that meetings usually result in constructive proposals, reports on conditions locally or elsewhere and so forth. The committee has come to feel a bond of united concern and a warmth of personal relations which are great assets."

The fact sheet also praises Mayor Brookshire for his support, and his speaking and writing about better race relations. "Another very great advantage we have had has been the intelligent support of our two newspapers." It pointed out that at first the committee gave no publicity, but that later, as during the 1963 breakthrough, "it has been decidedly advantageous to be able to announce progress after a limited number of days of experimentation."

(Newspapers generally would chafe at holding off from such a story, even for a limited time to allow experimentation,

as tha two Charlotte papera did when the Negro and white leadara were dining together to break segregation's ice at the restaurants. Asked about it, Observer City Editor Wright admitted some of his staff were disgruntled; Perry Morgan, managing editor of the News, claimed no one on his paper complained. A television station that tried to cover the event was told that if a camera were at a restaurant, the deaegregation teams would not be, and the station would be reaponsible for blocking progress.)

"At the present time," Dr. Cunningham's fact sheet aaid, "practically all areas of the city's life are integrated at leaat in token form. We see no reason to question that, aa the months come and go, the barriers of segregation will be gradually and fully removed. We have much to do in atrengthening the Negro'a position economically, educationally, politically and religioualy...

"It ia a tribute to the climate of our city and the quality of our citizenship that all these steps have been taken without a single incident of violence or public embarraasment." In the interview, Dr. Cunningham gave aa an example of community reaponse a statement by the preaident of a civic club to which he had described activitiea of the committee. "I'm from the Delta of Mississippi. But I believe all of what I heard today," the man said.

Dr. Cunningham acknowledged that "nothing is finally, completely desegregated," and that "we must make more

progresa." He said the committee was working on the situation of the Greek restaurants. "Dr. Hawkins," he said, "furniahes us with splendid ammunition. He threatens and we use it" in negotiations. (Of Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Cunningham said: "He is such a difficult person. He has never recognized our committee in any way, form or fashion....")

Dr. Cunningham described what happened during the 1960 sit-ins. The committee worked from March to July for a breakthrough. The chain stores put it to the leading department stores, Ivy's and Belk's -- saying they would do whatever these local stores did. The two local stores were reluctant. Students met with them to put their position across -- the logic of demanding food where they were served in all other departments. Finally -- and Dr. Cunningham said unexpectedly -- he got a call asking him what would be the best day for the stores to desegregate lunch counters. He named a day.

"That was the beginning... Now in any area, as at a concert, people are used to it... we are not at the point where desagregation gets the ill will of the better citizen. They see what the community has gained the other way. People are over the faar of being called "nigger lover," now. Especially the younger people..."

He said a main problem is helping the Negro help himsalf and his own race. "They've talked about rights,

they muat talk about thair reaponaibilitiea. The Negro doean't aasume responsibility for his own people..."

Aa did nearly everyone, he listed main problems as education, jobs, houaing. Of housing, he said the danger in urban renewal was that in cloaing out one slum, two or more were created. He described efforts to open jobs, and spoke of the difficulty in communicating opportunities. He told of speaking on the subject on television, and getting a phone call from a Negro job applicant before he left the studio.

Aa for the future: "What took place here with the Chamber of Commerce and the leadership is a real tribute... to all of them... We would have to have a complete turnabout of the climate of the whole community before the government or business would think in terms of turning back. They were so relieved we did not have a Little Rock or Jackson, that I can't imagine them turning back."

Dr. Cunningham's opinion was that the ministers had bean a very atrong influence. "Of our 27 members, if one of them is not a dedicated church member, I don't know it."

He handed over a stack of reproductions of all the minutas of committes meetings. They are a study in the alow but ateadily effective work of such a group, and of ita human proceases of talking to one another and of diacovery of one another and self, which may be its most important contribution.

"I took this job to serve my community," Dr. Cunningham said, "with some assurances of the support I would get. I've never thought of myself as an extremist. Maybe that's a reason I was asked to take it. I will do all that I think is right, but I hold to the practical. It can't all be done at one meeting or in one month... The committee is completely relaxed. Members can say anything they think. There is a spirit of utter good will..."

In all discussions, the Alexander brothers, Fred and Kelly, are described as important Negro leaders. Fred Alexander, a forceful man of middle age, balding, with heavy topped glasses, a thin moustache, talked late into the night about his city, his own life as the son of a Negro undertaker when few Negroes attained middle claas. He talked of his people, and the problems past and future of Charlotte race relations. He is a member of the mayor's committee and a member of the county welfare board -- firat Negro named to an appointive board. The interview was in tne den of his large, modern, tastefully expensive and beautifully furnished home in a Negro suburb on the western outskirts of Charlotte.

"We've had some progress," he said. "We've moved because a fairminded group of whites -- or one or two -- were convincad not to let the situation fall in on them."

The election of Mayor Brookshire was the first move, Fred Alexander said. A change in the Chamber of Commerce attitude was the next. It was a combination of these things that allowed sitting down and talking about problems and trying to avoid disaster.

He praised Mayor Brookshire, his willingness to be helpful and give leadership, "his going into the neighborhoods and hinterlands preaching this philosophy."

You've got to talk to businessmen across the board, said Fred Alexander. "Some feel the scare technique will work. I was born and brought up here. I've seen the rough days. It's stupid to think you can scare people who build 50-story buildings. You can be a nuisance. But you can no more scare them than you can come in my house and scare me. It's a matter of whether I want to listen to you and see if there is sense in what you say." He continued:

"If it had been fear alone, Charlotte would be in the throes of a demonstration still. The willingness of the power structure and the mayor to sit down and talk was the key thing -- the ability to find Negroes and whites willing to see if the conference approach would work.

"The Mayor's Committee is not a committee of handkerchief heads. I'm in the NAACP. My brother is on the board, and state chairman. We don't sit around and

make it easy for everybody. We say what we think." He said white membership was also "top flight." The committee has been the first means by which such men would sit down and talk with Negroes. "You can't get anywhere dealing with the poor white man. He's just like the Negro -- struggling."

Fred Alexander described the first year of the committee as a cat and mouse game. What did it accomplish? "The fact that Negroes and whites sat down together and stayed together twelve months was an accomplishment."

He said the committee members learned not to be afraid of each other, and that this opened doors that otherwise would have been closed. "So--we got the eating places." He said the committee counts 98 of them open to Negroes, but there had been no recent recheck to see if all were remaining open. "We have the major ones. We have enough so that Negroes don't have to wonder."

He said that talks on restaurants began about a year before the 1963 breakthrough. These were "feelers through individuals -- one or two contacts."

He said there are some "fringe places" still closed. "It's a waste of time to battle them. You could spend that time on something worthwhile."

The Mayor's Committee, he said, could handle the situation of the Greek restaurants. "The other element

wants the knockdown way. Give us a chance to officially confront them... Then, if that doesn't work, I say let's organize a demonstration of the first rank. Not a hit and run thing... just to get somebody's name in the paper... and cause foolish talk. You can't do that [have a first rank demonstration] if all you want is flapjack publicity... 'I did this and I did that...'

"The community battle of status," he continued, "goes right along with the battle of human rights. You can't control it. It's part of the mores of Negro development. You can't wipe it out. You will find it in every community."

Dissension and lack of a broad base of leadership is the cause of the Charlotte Negro's ineffectiveness in politics, he said. The Negro vote is not organized, not cohesive. He denied there were any bars to registration. "It's lack of interest in doing the most important thing the Negro can do... You can't feel politics in the palm of your hand. We must teach the Negro what politics can do." White politicians are naive, he added. A professional slickster could easily take over.

Asked at one point whether the Mayor's Committee wasn't an excellent place to get rid of anger, Fred Alexander talked at greath length on how personally he had long ago rid himself of all anger in dealing with white people, and of what a struggle it had been. "When I want to disarm an opponent," he said, "the first thing

I do ia needle him and make him mad. He blows up. I let him have it...

"I mova in relation to my white bretheren with steps of caution... Not with anger or righteous indignation." At another point, he said: "Some may say nothing has been accomplished here. I say something has been accomplished in Charlotte. Why use a fist when words will do it? I exterminate you just the same... The fist penalizes me and nothing is accomplished. When I break your neck with words, I deflate you and get some response from you... This ian't an overnight process or tomorrow overnight... I, as a Negro, am chafing at the bit. But I can't kill this chicken that is laying the golden egg. I've got to get a lot more eggs... I'm not saying they've done all they should do. But we're making progress..."

He criticized the multiplicity of Negro organizations. "If you've got to hava noise for existence, your effectiveneas ia gone." Referring back to the Trade Fair negotiations on hotels, he aaid, "The hotels were almost crystallized... Thia was almoat blown up in a minute by the actions of another group. We were trying to do it quietly... We were able to amooth it out."

Tnen he addressed himself to the overall white leadership. "The leadership is always smart enough to ease up the presaure before aomething happens. Thia is the worst kind... We'd be better off if we were where we could see it

end battle it, instead of having to look for it, hunt it before we hit it."

Negroes from surrounding areas move to Charlotte, he said, thinking it is a mecca. "There is comparatively little police brutality. The man from the country can stand on the streets at night. There are no bad raids on juke joints. Nobody's going to snatch his beer and hit him with a blackjack. He's in heaven."

The city, he said, has "no big labor problems." Asked if he didn't think unionization might help in the race struggle, he said scornfully that labor unions offer little or nothing in the struggle for Negro rights in the South, not even membership.

He described Charlotte's emergence as a financial and distribution center, with increasing white collar influence, and said that "if progress in human relations is to be made in North Carolina it is fit and proper that it be made in Charlotte."

"But," he went on, "we are yet to make a dent in employment, in segregated housing and schools."

He said the effect of current urban renewal efforts and other forces was to herd Negroes together in separate housing areas as never before, and that this in turn reinforced segregation of schools. Negroes, he said, couldn't afford financially to attempt to move into a stable white

neighborhood. Blockbusting occurs with little tension, ha aaid, in tranaitional areas. He said the center city waa increaaingly Negro, and criticized a Salvation Army plan to close a mission in a previously all-white area when there were now many Negro families within sight of ita dooratep deaperately in need of its help.

Houaing and jobs, said Fred Alexander, would be the last-ditch battles. "It's the old social bugaboo... If you live and work together, then you'll be sleeping together..."

As for employment, "there are one or two Negroes hither and there where there were whites, as in the water department. This is too slow." It's not enough for the needed change of the image of the Negro. He needs to be able to aspire to more than the professions of preacher or doctor or achool taacher or lawyer. "If we're going to be auccessful in directing kids to the right schools, they must see Negroes in the right jobs.

"This ia a problem for the Mayor's Committee to wrestle with. I told them, 'You've got to stop talking about whether there are qualified Negroes. How are you going to find qualified Negroes when a whole generation of Negroes grows up without aspirations?'"

He aaid he was for reverse segregation - "put Negro boya and girla in a job over the white boy and girl... a Negro must be on front of a bank just because he is a Negro--

so other Negroes can see this...and be inspired."

What would the Mayor's Committee think of this? "They are willing to think. They haven't been hurt by what has happened so far... Talk and think... It's not as fast as I want... but I'm willing to work for it... to keep bringing it up."

Fred Alexander told how the Chamber of Commerce happened to be desegregated, he having been the first of the initial group to be signed up. "They wanted Dean Rusk to be speaker at the 1962 Annual Meeting, so they invited us to join..." He told how the Chamber of Commerce officials elaborately and tactfully arranged that Negro members would be seated with white members friendly to their cause at the first annual banquet they attended.

Then, with feeling, he tried, as a background for understanding dissension among Negro leaders, to explain some of the psychological grounding of growing up in the culture he has known in Charlotte. He talked of the deliberate patterns in slavery time whereby the white owner of slaves convinced those he owned that they were the best slaves, and all others were of no account, and of the continued tradition of whites convincing Negroes who work for them to turn to them, the whites, for all assistance, and depreciating any efforts by Negroes to help themselves or each other. He described the effect upon himself and his brother of growing up in a home owned by their parents, with "no white rent man" at the door, and of having parents

not employed by whites... "I grew up independent..."

He told of his efforts to help other Negroes in Charlotte to know the freeing influence of owning a home, his encouragement of a white contractor to be the first to build Negro homes, and sell them at a low margin of profit. (Now, he said, since that contractor got rich, any contractor in Charlotte is glad to build Negro homes.) The children of these people, he said, have a chance to grow up without a white-induced inferiority complex. (His business is housing. He is manager of a Negro apartment project whose construction he also encouraged as the predecessor to the private homes.)

Fred Alexander also described the base of Negro leadership in Charlotte as being extremely narrow. He said there were just not enough men with money and education to get things done, compared with such a southern city as Atlanta. He said lack of money prevented attraction of any great Negro preachers, explaining the absence generally of preachers among the leadership. He said educators tended to be concerned only with their schools. Summing up, he said: "Jobs and housing and education -- these are the keys. Our doom is sealed without them."

And: "Much depends on how long we can keep in office the type of men we have now..." (He included as very important the chairman of the county commission, Charles Lowe.)

And: "The North Carolina Fund will help too. All poverty ia wrapped up in segregation and ignorance... for whitea and Negroes... It transcends race."

And: "If adult Negroes ever go into the streets here, aomething bad is going to happen. So this should be the very laat resort..."

He returned once more to the question of anger. He told of how his daughter at the age of eleven, home from a northern, integrated situation, chided him about not taking her to the airport park. She said she knew why he kept putting her off. "I don't believe," she told him, "that I like white people down here." That, said Fred Alexander, waa when he had to talk strongly and truly to her. "I don't want her to grow up with any feeling of hate in her."

He alao aaid thia of hia dealings with whites on the Mayor'a Committee and otherwise in Charlotte affairs: "I know that they too are fighting their consciences, as I fight mine to maintain feelings of strength in belief of the goodneaa of their motivation..."

Fred Alexander haa described himself and his brother aa sort of a team. His brother, Kelly, he said, as an NAACP official waa regarded by some as a radical, wasn't a member of auch things aa the Mayor'a Committee. Those who didn't want to talk with Kelly, he said, could just come to

see him and vice versa. In an office of the family funeral home, which he now runs, Kelly Alexander, darker, with a heavier moustache, talked rapidly, directly, organising his thoughts carefully.

To understand progress in recent years, he said, required knowledge of the historical background for it, and this required knowing that until a few years ago the NAACP was "the only voice crying in the wilderness." He went on to outline NAACP involvement in getting Negro police, golf course desegregation, other recreational facilities, including swimming pools (which to date have never been much used by Negroes), voter registration, desegregation of the Democratic Party on the precinct level, and Negroes on policy making boards. He described his own two races for the city commission, claiming that whites pitted Negro opposition against him to split the Negro vote.

He described an NAACP survey of educational needs in 1947 which in effect demanded really equal separate schooling. After the 1954 school decision, the NAACP, he said, spearheaded efforts to desegregate schools. This came in 1957 in coordination with desegregation in Greensboro and Winston Salem.

He depreciated the effect of threatened demonstrations on the 1963 breakthrough, saying the real cause was the first

election of Mayor Brookshire which he said was done with the help of the NAACP. He also praised the Mayor's Committee.

The NAACP program for the year, he said, includes objectives of electing Negroes to public office, "from the legislature down," particularly the school board, and increaaing and expanding desegregation. The program alao includes integration of public housing. Its objectives in terms of equal job opportunities is the closing of the educat ional gap -- following, said Kelly Alexander, the recommendations of the NAACP study of 1947. There is alao a need to motivate and atimulate Negro youngsters into new skills, and continuing a battle to open new jobs.

Negroes already hold such jobs as telephone operators, bank blue and white collar workers, postmen, and higher and maintenance positions at Douglas Aircraft. There have been aome in-roads in textile milla. (A notable addition to Charlotte banking was the opening in 1963 of a branch of the Mechanics and Farmera Bank of Durham, first auch Negro-owned institution in the city. At dedication servicea, Lorimer D. Milton, president of the Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta, a Negro-owned institution, declared: "Where there are no active banks there are no rights except the right to spend... The do-gooders don't get the job done. Politicians understand only money and power and they have to have one to get the other...")

Kelly Alexander aaid the attitude of the administration of Governor Terry Sanford had been important in Charlotte's achievements. He said Governor Sanford underatood that the state could gain only by improving the statua of Negroes.

About dissension among Negro leaders, he said: "I don't have to do things at my age some people seem to think they have to do." Differences, he said, are only on technique and strategy. "We are in the minority," he said. "We must have allies." And:

"I understand what it means for a white man to come to the point where he says he will do something. My long experience in civil rights makes me appreciate a mayor like Mayor Brookshire..."

He said, he thought dissension among leaders did no more harm than fallings out that might occur between Senator Eastland and Rep. Smith of Virginia. "The difference ia not aharp enough to throttle and impede the drive to freedom... My dedication to the NAACP would make me less than a leader if I didn't at all times seek to sell our position..." He said the NAACP had backed Dr. Hawkins's suit against the dental society even though he had reaigned from the organisation.

"There will never be a roadblock to keep any Negro from using the facilities of the NAACP to advance Negro rights..."

The buildup and background to the 1963 Charlotte breakthrough was discussed in passing by nearly everyone interviewed. Probably the most detail was given by Dr. Raymond Wheeler, a leader in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations, whose activities he outlined.

With the strong leadership of the late Harry Jones, executive director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, he said, the Charlotte council was active and effective in a range of activities, from writing letters to the editor to making statements before any group that would liaten. He mentioned the early effort by Mr. Lowe, a strong member, to get the Chamber of Commerce to taka a position on open employment.

"The Council put people on the spot and was turned down time after time, but kept coming back."

Early desegregation in Charlotte included the library, the Medical Society, the recreation facilities, the auditorium and coliaaum, the United Appeal, the Unitarian congregation, and (while barring Unitarians and Jews) the Miniaterial Association.

Part of the atmosphere that contributed to the 1963 breakthrough harks back to the 1957 school dessgregation, and guilt attached to it. Dorothy Geraldine Counts, 15-year-old daughter of a Johnson C. Smith professor and

miniater, the Rev. Herman Counts, was one of three Negroes aasigned to three schools. Hers was a tough one. Newspaper accounta of the time tell of a white woman in the crowd the first day when Miss Counts came to the white achool, crying, "Spit on her, girls." They did -- when ahe entered and when she came out. Remarks were hurled and sticks thrown. "Dorothy Counts never lost her compoaure or her dignity. The whole thing could have been stopped by proper policing." She withdrew from the school.

The Council on Human Relations had tried to get the police department and the school board to act against the unruliness. This was unsuccessful. Then worldwide indignation over the traatment of the young woman poured into Charlotte. It was printed in the local papers. "There waa a reaolve it would never happen again," said Dr. Wheeler.

He cited long-running controversy over hospitals and city collages as examples of Charlotte at its worst on race relationa.

In 1955, a committee of white and Negro leaders was appointed aa a social planning council to make recommendations on hoapital needs. Outside consultants were brought in, and after careful atudy a report was rendered to the city council that hospital facilities for Negroes were wholly inadequate. In the main, these consisted of an

Epiacopal Church-owned hoapital, then called Good Samaritan. The report to the city council said it was in such poor shape it would be impossible to renovate. The report urged a bond issue to add 250-beds to the then all-white City Memorial Hospital to be operated on a non-discriminatory basia, and that Good Samaritan be closed aa aoon thareafter as possible.

The city council in effect pigeon-holed these recommandations until 1959. A bond issue was subsequently pasaed on the basis of the report, reflecting a community concern about standards of health care for both races. Negro leaders supported it on the supposition that the recommendations on Good Samaritan would be followed. Then, aa the 250-bed wing of Memorial neared completion, a committee from the Hospitsl Authority, representing boards of both hospitals, appeared before city council -- at first auggeating that Good Samaritan be rebuilt at a cost of $1,500,000, then retreating in the face of community proteat to a recommendation that it be refurbished at a cost of $800,000. This would be temporary -- while yet another 250-bed wing was added to Memorial. In the Spring of 1960, another bond issue was voted which was regarded aa accepting thia interim idea.

The renovation of Good Samaritan, however, was delayed, reasons including difficulties over spending bond funds on a church-owned institution. Then when construction began on the second wing at Memorial in 1962,

the plan for a virtually new building at Good Samaritan waa revived by the Hospital Authority. Instead of $800,000, funda amounting to $1,300,000 were put into this. Matching funda from the federal government could not be had. Approval could not be obtained from the North Carolina Medical Care Commiaaion which adminiaters Hill-Burton funds. In its opinion, the hoapital could not be brought up to minimum atandarda without unreasonable expenditure of funds. Some doctora, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations, and, for the firat time, the Charlotte Observer, protested. They pointed out that white doctors do not use the facility, Negro doctors do not have enough apecialists among them to staff a hospital adequately, and that there are no accredited achools in the atate to supply it with either Negro nuraea or laboratory workers. Nevertheless, the construction went on, with the idea of keeping the facility (now callad Charlotte Community Hospital and now theoretically but not in practice desegregated) going another ten or 20 yeara.

Memorial, meanwhile, is also, because of such pressures aa inapections on apecific details by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to some degree desegregated. Its clinics, including emergency clinics, are. But admissions are keyed to 75 or 85 beds on separate floors or wards for Negroes. Nearly all Negro indigent patients, their right

to be there and their bills assured, use Memorial, leaving other Negroes to wait or to go to the inadequate Charlotte Community Hospital. Its load has decreased, and to meet bills it has to keep going back to city council for more money. To date it has no full time radiologist or pathologist, and no anesthesiologist at all, and no prospect of getting any of them.

All of this, said Dr. Wheeler, indicates a long-range and deliberate effort, "brilliantly executed," over the years to keep a segregated, all-Negro hospital in the face of factual evidence that this is financially unwise and means second-rate medical care for Negroes. The result is to reserve the best medical care for white patients, when all might, as is their minimal due, have it.

A similar story emerges on the city's colleges. From 1944 to 1959, after they were dropped from the extension system of the University of North Carolina, Charlotte College for whites and Carver College for Negroes were operated by the city's board of education. They previously had met at night in high schools and their faculties were mostly from high schools. The white college changed to day classes and became accredited as a junior college. The Negro school continued with primarily a high school-parallel curriculum, with a few graduates going on to Negro colleges. In 1959, a board of trustees over both was formed, and a bond issue proposed to build a campus for each: $575,000

for the Negro institution, $1,375,000 for the white.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations and others questioned the wisdom of voting money for separate schools when segregation was being abandoned in state institutions of higher learning. A letter to the board of trustees was unanswered; talks with members got nowhere; finally a letter to the editor of one of the papers was published. Members of the Council on Human Relations were told they were endangering the bond issue and the negotiations with the state legislature in Raleigh for state funds. It was hinted that if they would leave the matter alone, they would eventually get what they wanted, with the Negro campus turned over to the city for a high school.

When it was announced that the contracts had been let to build the Negro college, the Council on Human Relations, with Ernest Delaney serving as spokesman, led a group of citizens before the board of directors to protest the waste of money in obvious duplications. In reply to a board statement that the Negro community wanted the Negro school, they presented a petition with 1,000 names of Negro citizens protesting it.

They were accused of being more interested in social engineering than education, and told that they were falsely injecting a racial issue into the situation.

In 1961, contracts had been let to build both achoola. A suit seeking to prevent this lost in state courts. One of the schools was still called Charlotte Community College, a liberal arts, junior collage. The other waa called Mecklenburg College, ostensibly a vocational training institution. They were called desegregated, and the rationale for building two was that they offered different programs. But investigation proved both to have identical curricula, the only difference in them being an all-white faculty at the one, all-Negro at the other, one locatad in a Negro area, with students from the one being sent to the white hospital when ill, and at the other to the Negro hospital.

By 1963, enrollment at Mecklenburg had dropped so low that clasaes were discontinued. Students were transferred to Central Piedmont Community College, a desegregated trade achool, and the college, with 13 classrooms, an administration office, and a library stands empty. Charlotte Community College meanwhile has admitted Negro students, and in 1963, some $92,000 worth of renovations was ordered there.

The pattern of clinging to a Negro institution, changing ita name, and calling it desegregated did not work here as with the hospital, but in the process another large amount of money was wasted.

Againat thia backdrop, Dr. Wheeler said progress in the future can come only by "more hard work and different approaches."

Dr. Rufua Perry, president of Johnson C. Smith, 1000-student liberal arts and divinity school, filled in another chapter of race relations background. He described how the sit-ins came to Charlotte three days after they atarted at Greensboro in 1960. He read about that hiatorical first one on a Thursday, set a faculty meeting for the following Tuesday in anticipation of sit-ins spreading, like panty raids, to his campus. They reached there on Monday, the day before the faculty meeting. Hia reaction? "For 30 years I had been teaching human dignity, Christian living, and brotherhood... When these people went out to attain them, I couldn't say no." His only restriction, he said, was that academic standards be maintained.

He said rapport was excellent with the police and merchants during the sit-ins. (Others, including Dr. Sidney L. Freeman, pastor of the Unitarian Church, who led the few whites participating, confirmed this.) At that stage, atudents didn't particularly want to be arrested, he said. Only three of his students ever were -- and chargea againat two were dismissed.

He and others on campus received bomb threats and other abusive communication from whites. "We ignored it." The atudents also had considerable support, he aaid, from large segments of the white community, including many who withdrew charge accounts from stores being picketed. Despite warnings that Johnson C. Smith would lose financial support, the fund campaign of the year of the sit-ins was more successful locally than it had ever been.

Dr. Perry said he thought one generally overlooked factor in all the diacussion of the student movement had been the role of the influence of Negro colleges over the years -- "the sound, wholesome training." He said the higheat aspirations and ideals of the student movement were simply a dramatic expression of what had been "deep in the educational philosophy of most southern Negro colleges for the 90 to 95 years of their existence..."

(The dramatic success of the sit-ins still can be atartling in retrospect, to see it leap out of old news clippings from the midst of years and years of delay and alowly inching progress in other areas of racial change. Sit-ins came to Charlotts on February 9. On February 20, studenta were served at one lunch counter. By July, most in downtown -- seven -- were desegregated.)

Dr. Perry aaid there was intermittent student activity on hotela and theatres from 1961 until the Mecklenburg

Independence Day march of the Spring of 1963. Dr. Hawkins, he aaid, was moatly on the sidelines -- lending hia car, offaring advice -- until 1962 when he became "highly vocal." Since then. he had emerged as "the most vocal" Negro leader. He expressed general support of him, but said he disagreed on Dr. Hawkins's charges about voting. "It's not encouraged, but if a Negro takes the initiative to regiater, hs can with no trouble."

Of the 1963 breakthrough, he said: "It was the same thing that happens in any community. When the power structure speaks, all opposition gives way."

Like nearly everyone, he said the immediate problems are jobs, housing, and education. (He showed a signed postcard he had recaived that day, for whatever it might be worth in assessing the immediate mood. "Dear Mr. Presidant," it aaid. "I want you and the mayor and Harry Golden to help us colored folks. They is pushing us around too much. Please come out in the newspapers of Charlotte that you is all behind us.")

His view of employment: there had been "tremendous reaponae" among employers to appeals to hire Negroes. Yet for specialized jobs -- engineers, for example -- there were no qualified Negroes available. He blamed "years of deprivation." As an educator, he said he knew the difficulty of motivating atudents to train for jobs they knew they

could never get. Jobs requiring no more than a high achool education -- clerical work, sales, lower-level managerial -- need opening up. "They complain of difficulty finding good clerical help. I know this is true. But it's not a racial problem. There has to be opportunity to train on the job. That's what is done -- white or Negro."

On houaing, hia school has applied for a $3,000,000 federal houaing loan for a 300-unit low-income apartment. It will be non-segregated in policy. Until recently, he said, real estate people have succeeded in blocking most public houaing.

He talked at length of overcrowding at Negro public achoola, telling of the experience of his daughter in one of them. Her classes are small -- a rare thing -- because ahe ia in a selected scholarship group, but she often misses lunch because the cafeteria is too crowded to get in.

He, too, saw the North Carolina Fund as a key factor in aolving race problems of the future, and spoke of his own intereat in research into the culture of poverty. With hia Chamber of Commerce membership plaque on the wall behind him, he aaid the basic issue for the future was unity -- the concept of human rights and the fully integrated society.

Dr. Sidney L. Freeman at the Unitarian Church added these recollections of the sit-ins. They had extraordinary student leadership from Clyde Carter, Charles Jones, and Robert Gore. (The latter two have made names for themselves in national civil rights organizations since.)... Students would call police before a demonstration, in effect got an armed guard. Police maintained real order with great impartiality... The police chief then, named Jesse James, called Dr. Freeman in and expressed concern over "white ladies" getting involved with Negroes in the demonstrations. "He didn't urge against it, but he wanted me to be aware of the danger..."

Dr. Freeman, a transplanted Northerner, described how little practical power in Charlotte attaches to "old families" and "old wealth" per se, and how much it goes to men who are successful in business and assume civic leadership roles. The criterion is strictly success, he said. He also described what others noted and what became apparent in conversations: Charlotte's sense of rivalry with Atlanta in business and in cultural affairs. (Invariably, the fancy shopping centers would be compared with Atlanta's.)

Dr. Freeman also said: "The opposition provided Mayor Brookshire in his first race by Mrs. Evans may have

been crucial. She forced him out on the racial question, "perhaps more than he intended."

Charles Lowe, both as president of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations and personally, had a big effect on creating Charlotte's good atmosphere on race.

Mr. Lowe, a heavy-set, energetic man, is chairman of the Mecklenburg County Commission, a position not often in the South aspired to or held by a man outspoken for better race relations. How did he happen to get in politics? "I was an adopted child," he answered in a sort of telescoped use of words that seems to be characteristic. "So this might be considered noblesse oblige."

He said he hadn't particularly enjoyed politics, but felt it was something he should do. He apparently has spent much effort getting others to run. He said the calibre of the county commission is now such that there is no longer a tendency to pass the buck to the city, and there is a willingness to use planners and modern methods on problems.

The county now hires Negroes as farm agents, laborers, nurses, and welfare and juvenile court case workers. The commission is discussing Negro deputy sheriffs and secretaries.

People in the county, particularly low-income, rural whites, are less inclined to accept desegregation than

thoae in Charlotte, he said. (This is a problem cited by school officials; the city and county systems are combined.) Mr. Lowe said he thought part of the trouble is fear of something or someone they don't know. He recalled how in his business, an electrical distributing firm in a warehouse-like building out from the downtown, he called in his force and asked if they would object to his promoting a young Negro maintenance man to a fairly important job. The man knew the duties, and was capable, he told his other workers. Sure, they responded, because they knew him, we'd like to see him make more money.

Mr. Lowe talked of a move afoot by the personnel manager at Douglas Aircraft to get all agencies together interested in hiring on merit for regular meetings to discuss problems. He showed a letter giving results of auch a meeting -- an agreement to seek North Carolina Fund money for a placement bureau to be run by the East Side Council on Community Affairs headed by the young Negro leader LeRoy Polk, and an agreement to seek a seminar by the Mayor's Committee on employment of Negroes.

Many people, he said, think things but are afraid to go out on a limb. This sort of thing gives them courage.

(Aa an indication of the complex interconnections of people and events in Charlotte race relations, Dr. Hawkins waa critical of a written presentation on the Placement

Bureau prepared by Mr. Polk's organization. He called it a means for the white employer to get the "monkey off hia back" and termed Uncle Tomism a paragraph which said: "the only 'cause' the Bureau will advocate is JOBS. The only thing it will 'propagandize' for is JOBS. The only 'marches' it will join are marches to WORK. The only 'advancement' it will advocate will be job advancement through merit. The only 'right' it will plead for is the right to WORK!")

Mr. Lowe said that the approach needed and possible in Charlotte on jobs, as on all other aspects of race, is the one used by an intelligent community on any other problem -- a sitting and looking at the problem and working out rational aolutions. "We need to sit and look at the race problem just like we do any other problem... Figure out how to solve it... Set up a timetable... and work at it..."

Like most others, he said the North Carolina Fund is a key to the future, that the day is closing when poor whites and Negroes will allow themselves to be pitted against each other, when their problems are the same. He, alone among those interviewed, mentioned labor leaders in the area, praising them. He said they were doing as well as they could on race and other activities. He singled out for praise Floyd Henderson, president of the Charlotte Central Labor Union.

Of Dr. Hawkins, he said there was honest difference of opinion. The white man's view is that he has done a lot of good and harm. "He pushed us faster than we wantad to go." He made many mad. "Some think he hurt race relations. But in his own way, I expect he helped. I tell my white friends if we were Negroes, I expect we would say things are too slow." He said Negroes in good positions tend to like the status quo as much as their white counterparts. "The youngsters challenge them as much as the whites. It's like competition in business. It's human nature. How to get all people to look at problems objectively, instead of what's in it for me -- that's what we need."

The future, said Charles Lowe, will see some leveling off -- no continuation of the "tremendous" progress of the past few years. There will be gains but not as fast. Negroes will need "to study harder, to toe the mark, to seek jobs on quality, not on the basis of race...

"In the past, it's been dog eat dog. Now, it's live and let live. Within the next ten years, we may have 'live and help live.'"

Mr. Lowe, in discussion of how the good atmosphere for the breakthrough was built, said churches had not been in the forefront, but had done much good behind the

scenes. He, like many others, singled out Dr. Carlyle Marney, pastor of the Myers Park Baptist Church, as one who was outspoken, who didn't seem to share the feeling of many preachers that gestures costing loss of a job accomplish nothing.

In his book-lined, paneled office at the magnificent church in Charlotte's finger-bowl district, Dr. Marney, a happy-faced, middle-aged man who has published Structures of Prejudice and other books, said yes, he carried his resignation around in his pocket.

He introduced the attractive young Negro woman who is one of the church secretaries, showed the Negro children in an integrated nursery school, and described activities of the church, including a regular Sunday morning TV program on race relations, a mission program to help "mamas with nothing but 300 years of hopelessness to give their children," and plans for sending the youth of the church into the slums to help a family apiece. He described some of the special presentations members of the church have been faced with, including a program in the format of a radio show in which four Charlotte high schoolers from behind a curtain, unseen, talked feelingly of their ambitions in life. There was a gasp in the congregation when the curtain was pulled away and two of the high schoolers were revealed to be Negroes. (The congregation is not desegregated.

When it does become so, Dr. Marney said he feared it would be only by Negroes "of our class.")

Dr. Marney said he didn't create what was in the church -- which includes in its membership many of the rich and powerful men who made the 1963 breakthrough possible. It was there when he came, he said. He related what he told the committee which came to hire him: "They asked what I thought of them and I said you're a bunch of nice fellows down here at this cross-roads. When the tracks came through from New York to Atlanta, you said the Lord gave it to you, and you wanted to show your appreciation to Him. You know it was the devil, but you went on, built something beautiful for the Lord anyhow with this church. And now you want somebody to lacerate you every Sunday so you can brag about not firing him..."

He said he told them he didn't believe anyone of them knew himself. One spoke up: "I know who I am. I'm a bastard. And if somebody doesn't change me, I'm going to die that way..." He accepted their offer.

Charlotte, said Dr. Marney, "is in very grave danger. The danger is that we're not going to get anything done... after this great breakthrough."

Nearly everyone who discussed the breakthrough in light of past accomplishments and future developments

spoke of how slowly Charlotte achools had moved on desagregation after the initial action in 1957. Of 70,000 pupils (about 50,000 white, 20,000 Negro), 490 Negroes are officially designated as being in desegregated schoola. However, 418 of these are in one school which has aeven white pupils. The other 72 are in seven of the 103 schools. In all, 38 schools are said to have pupils assigned on the basis of neighborhood residence, 31 of them evidently in all-white or all-Negro neighborhoods. Under the Pearsall Plan by which desagregation has been guided, white pupils may request transfers out of schools where Negroes have gained entrance -- a so-called "safety valve."

Dr. William C. Self, assistant superintendent of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System (they were combined in 1960), discussed the situation in a pleasant, quiet, disengaged aort of way. He said there was "smooth sailing" in the schools, that the neighborhood plan was working out well. Asked about such charges as Dr. Hawkins's that neighborhood groupings for schools are gerrymandered on the basis of race, he said that if there was gerrymandering it was in order to fill up classrooms. Asked about integration of faculties, he said the board of education's whole direction of movement waa in terms of the neighborhood plan. Asked if the

neighborhood plan had anything to do with faculty desegregation, he said it did not. Asked again about faculty desagregation, he was noncommital.

At another point, he did say that a summer school for children with special interests and talents in 1963 had one Negro teacher, a male teacher of mathematics. There waa no trouble, he said.

He seemed to think Charlotte's centering its North Carolina Fund plans around schools was a good idea. But he aaid community problems could not be solved by achoola -- that if other forces in the society didn't work on them, if they were left to the schools alone, they wouldn't be aolved.

He said one of the biggeat problems of schools waa keeping buildings up with population growth. With a growth rate of 3,600 new pupils a year, the system, despite extensive construction, is still 4,000 to 4,500 pupils behind. Mobile classrooms and partitions of available space fill the gap.

He cited the record of Charlotte voters on school bonds, an impressive bit of evidence of the state of civic health: separate issues were approved in 1946, 1950, 1952, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1961, and 1963 -- all told, 66.6 million dollars worth.

An article in the February 1964, issue of The Nation's Schools, somewhat disapproving of Charlotte's

lack of much deliberate speed on school desegregation, pointed out that Negroes heavily supported the bond issues, including the most recent, for $15,600,000 in December 1963. The same article quoted Harry Golden, outspoken weekly newspaper pundit and nationally known author of works often centered on the race question, as saying of the school situation: "They've done something in Charlotte, but they could have done it all. You must think of North Carolina in terms of great disappointment, becauae it is the most liberal state in the South. The folka were ready for desegregation; they were merely waiting for direction... They had the opportunity to lead the South by starting a tradition. They could have built a reputation that would have lasted forever..."

In an interview Mr. Golden said the Charlotte School Board (before the merger) had been "as cruel an outfit as any in the South." He was particularly scornful of the procedure for handling Negro children requesting tranafers --"they were made to bring their parents and were asked questions about 'Aren't you happy with your own people?' -- questions that would give pause to Freud."

Dr. Freeman confirmed this, recalling one of the first such sessions which he witnessed. A Negro atudent and hia parents were before the board, under

queationing which "presumed them guilty until they proved themselvea innocent." The youth, he said, kept hia head and outtalked them in answer to such questions as why did he want to leave his friends and go to a school where he knew no one, and wasn't his achool a good one, etc. "This has mellowed," according to Dr. Freeman. The PTA and League of Women Voters aends observers to all meetings of the board.

A Negro told of the experience recently of the two young ladies who are the only Negroes in the high school which serves the most exclusive white neighborhoods. "The acceptance has been just beautiful. They've been invited to senior parties in homes, and picked up to attend all the games." One white youth tried to give them trouble, and the other kids "got on his back." A tradition for this was established earlier at the school when the aenior boys let it be know that anyone who bothered a lone Negro youth admitted to the school would have them to contend with. This youth won a scholarahip to college; the two girls are doing well in their gradea.

A Negro teacher described conditions at one of the Negro achools, an ancient one: Negro pupils pass by white schools to attend it. There is no real equality of equipment. The school might have as good microscopes, but while it haa two, its white counterpart would have

20. Classes in white and Negro schools are overcrowded. Pupils at the Negro school, from low to middle class homes, are not really well motivated, have not experienced the kind of stimulus that would cause them to seek quality training. A good kid from a bad family does well the first four years, begins to lag behind, goes down, finally drops out. Another problem is that administrators of Negro schools are themselves Negroes of the "old school" and incapable often of independence, while teachers are often people who have struggled up from the same environment that cripples their pupils. They regard their job as an ultimate achievement, and have had no opportunity to find their way into the main streams of today's education.

David W. Harris is chairman of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg County School Board. He was vice chairman of the county board when the merger came. In his brokerage office (with an indoor putting-practice rig by his desk) at the modernistic Charlottetown Mall shopping center (with stores with open fronts and a display in the mall of surprisingly good high school art), Mr. Harris talked with the urbanity and charm of his occupation and stage (middlish young) of life:

"They say we have done as little as possible, and it may be that we haven't done all we could. But it's

safer to take the conservative course than to push to the danger point. There was a great deal of fear that was without foundation about desegregation. This ia what we wanted to prove -- that it was without foundation. We wanted to show that it could be done, not how far we could go and how fast. If you want to build a house, you don't build the roof first...

"That's what we've been working on... We're in a position now to move... We don't want to risk a Birmingham. We've avoided bombings. It only takes one to get you in trouble.... This is something we didn't create; we inherited it...

"I'm not real happy with the progress we've made; but we will do a great deal more." (Reaction of several Negroes when asked about this promise was an almost cynical "When?")

Specifically, Mr. Harris said that "percentage-wise," the number of Negroes in desegregated schools would accelerate "conaiderably" during the coming year. Acceleration is possible now "because the pattern is set."

He also said: The neighborhood assignment policy waa what Negroes asked for at first... Opposition to dessgregation waa not publicized but it was heavy from groups and individuals. This was part of the reason for going slow... Only one parent took his child out of the

special summer school class with a Negro teacher... A good school here and there is not the answer. One bad school in the system hurts all schools... White and Negro low income areas are generally served by the poorest teachers. There is serious consideration of assigning them the best teachers... School walkouts by Negroes would do great damage; there seems little likelihood of this so long as Negro leaders have open communication with the white leadership... An integrated faculty will "come in time." It is regarded as a "major change." ...

"As a school board," said David W. Harris, whose father was a teacher all his life, and who himself started out as a teacher, "we would like to do away with segregation tomorrow. But we're convinced we couldn't get away with it. We would lose the progress we have made."

(In the mall outside his office, the high school art on display ranged from carefully conscientious realism to abstract portraiture. Pictures of farm houses and city streets showed a feeling for regional flavor. Shoppers were caught by the art as they hurried by, and would turn and bend to the pictures, studying them. One of those carefully studying a pointillist technique in a painting of a big house and yard was a Negro youth, extremely neatly dressed. He looked of high school age

and as though he had come out to the shopping center just to see the display.)

Invariably when Charlotte people talked of the race relations of the future, they pinned hopes on the efforts to include the city in the North Carolina Fund, a foundation-financed, matching-fund program attacking poverty. Awareness is high that race problems are linked to the problems of poverty which transcend race. Not so high is the awareness of the extent of white and Negro poverty in the city, and while there are many groups "trying to do something," there is virtually no coordination. The North Carolina Fund would indeed be a way for Charlotte to move into some of the more complex, deeper cultural causes and results of discrimination, after its success with surface desegregation.

The proposal for including Charlotte in the program contains the set of dismal statistics becoming familiar in descriptions of what sils most American cities. Here is a sampling: while Charlotte is the largest city with the greatest economic power in the Carolinas, with the highest median income, it also has more poverty, a higher crime rate, more public assistance cases, more overcrowded dwelling units, more illegitimacy, more tuberculosis and venereal diseases, more cases in Juvenile Court, and the

largest adult population with less than five years of schooling.

A total of 14,000 families make less than $3,000 a year, 3,000 of whom make less than $1,000 a year. Median income for white families is $6,440, for Negroes, $2,904. Three-fourths of the Negro families make less than $4,000. Half make less than $3,000. Fifty-five per cent of school children are white, but of the three-fourths of dropouts attributable to poverty, 47% are Negro, compared with 24% white. There is a 3.2% unemployment rate, low by national comparisons, and a shortage of skills: stenographers, machine operators, auto mechanics, welders, draftsmen. Recent attention to urban renewal and public housing and tighter enforcement of a tighter housing code has not dented 4,000 blighted houses, 6,000 in need of repairs. An impoverished family with six children cannot get public housing, and only the worst of private housing.

In 1962, the crime rate was 15.9 per 1,000. (A newspaper account gives breakdowns. Murder and non-negligent manslaughter: nine whites arrested, 29 Negroes. Forcible rape, five whites, 26 Negroes. Armed robbery, 17 whites, 70 Negroes. Police Chief John Hord, who wears a civilian suit in his little office cluttered with the trophies and sentimentality of the professional police officer, said that the high crime rate follows the inhabitants of a slum cleared by urban renewal to whatever slum they go

to. He talked of efforts of the Chamber of Commerce Crime Committee and the Mayor's Crime Committee to study causes and cures of crime. He said his men "enforce the law as fair as we know how. We treat colored just as we do white as long as they'll let us. If one jumps on an officer, though, we don't care how we get him off." He spoke of the traditional generosity of police to poor families, and from his professional knowledge of the situation, spoke feelingly of the plight of Negro and white slum children: "No father, and the mother works and he roams the streets. He's got no fair chance." As for poverty in general, Chief Hord said: "We're going to have to do something.")

The Charlotte Fund proposal says: "Special attention must be given to race as an important factor contributing to poverty... A practical astute achievement such as this [desegregation of restaurants, hotels] delights us, but the disparity of opportunity is still very great with half of our Negro families falling below the poverty line. We are restless about the fact that traditional methods do not offer adequate solutions."

The proposal has an eight-point program to be administered in four neighborhoods, using junior high schools as centers. The eight points are (1) school readiness: a 6 to 8 week summer school, afternoon and Saturday programs, kindergartens; (2) health clinics

emphaaizing preventive medicine (a pilot project by the Public Health and Welfare Departments administered oral contraceptives to 300 volunteers); (3) job opportunities: job training and Mr. Polk's placement bureau; (4) adult education: everything from the three R's to leadership training, with emphasis on home improvement; (5) a staffed youth program; (6) data correlation; (7) special services: teams of counselors, psychologists, and social workers; (8) neighborhood centers.

Pete McKnight, editor of the Charlotte News, is president of the North Carolina Fund. He said frankly ha doesn't know whether Charlotte will be included. If it should be, it would follow the state policy of directly involving Negroes with whites in solving a common problem. (Since then Charlotte was selected to participate.) He said the two big problems are education and jobs, and that no one expects to "remake adults... The real hope is to cut off this generation of kids from the cycle of poverty." He pointed out, as had others, that whites as well as Negroes ara among the impoverished, that the problems are the same.

The one man interviewed who didn't view the Charlotte Plan -- as presently conceived -- with total approval was Dr. Hawkins. He voiced as his first criticism that the group which conceived it had no Negro membership. He aaid that its first step should be announcement of integration

of schools, jobs and housing. He urged a reading program from age 4 to 6... an incentive program for adult education in the form of payments slightly higher and in lieu of welfare payments for attendance at schools... A commitment from every employer for equal employment to solve the job problem with responsibility on them -- "not us" -- to recruit and train personnel... open occupancy and rent control and tighter enforcement of the housing code to improve housing.

The Charlotte Fund proposal singled out what is at once the most difficult and most hopeful thing about Charlotte's concern with poverty. Noting what is readily apparent to an outsider, the tremendous activity by many groups in this area, it says: "Yet these projects are as fragmented as they are earnest, and they lack central direction, analysis and thrust. They are encouraged-- but not powered--by the kind of concentrated community good-will that has built for Charlotte a solid reputation in business and industrial growth, progressive government and productive race relations. At the core of Charlotte's proposal to the North Carolina Fund lies determination to muster that 'will' and sustain it..."

* * * * *

Most of what the people of Charlotte, in discussing their race situation, talked about, argued about had already happened. It was in the almost off-hand appraisal

of future problems that they showed an exciting, almost unaware acceptance of an approach to the future unlike anything we have known before in the South.

Here, in teleacoped form, are three more interviews to illustrate thia, to round out thia report, and -- becauae of a daliberata aalection of diaparate viewpoints and peraonalitiea -- to ahow again the drama of the human atory of Charlotte, where people and eventa intertwine like the unplanned atreeta of an American town, unduly complicated, perhapa, not anywhere near aa efficient or rational as a machine might make, but full of a wonderful variety and vigor and potential...

In an office full of books, records and momentoes of hia aucceaaful career as enfant terrible of southern liberaliam, Harry Golden, in a bright red sport shirt, with his paunch and his cigar, sat rocking and talking of Charlotte in sentences that could have gone down almost verbatim aa an eaaay in The Carolina Israelite, his paper of opinion, if not in one of his many books of similar material.

"You've got to consider the structure. Start with at leaat 500 branch officea and warehouses managed by men making 15 to 30 thousand dollars, brought from the Midweat, Long Ialand, and Weatchester County with political and economic values aupported in the Midwest, Long Island,

and Westchester County. The distributing end is so big here that these men are the hard core of the power structure. Local merchants and manufacturers and distributors take from these managers with northern and midwestern backgrounds some of their political ideas. They are blended. The interests are the same. Some northern managers accommodate by taking on the sociological views of the South. But the connections are not deep. A man from IBM or Pitney Bowes comes in, and the first thing he does is sit down and write a letter to the editor -- 'what a beautiful city you have here... and one thing I've noticed is the controversy about integration. I know integration won't work. I'm from Ohio and I know...'"

The managerial class, he said, is one in economic and political views. Racial views are reflected by their Republican Congressman -- who never uses the word race. Politics are oriented to the society, and in heated elections and primaries, the candidates don't see fit to mention race.

"On this basis, my partly humorous comment is valid... They would elect Martin King or Malcolm X mayor if somehow one of them could give them a guarantee of no labor unions and no minimum wage for laundry workers."

He said he used the crack to make the point that "this city could have been integrated from top to bottom after the Supreme Court decision in 1954... Why they didn't has concerned me for years. My conclusion is

that while these people make a fetish of individual initiative and individual freedom of action, they are aa enslaved to the section aa any group in it, including Jews, Iriah, and Negroes." They act, he said, as a unit. "They don't want to hurt Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama..."

He recalled the day when Dorothy Counts withdrew from the white school after the spitting incident. "Three or four of us went to her father to plead with him not to withdraw her... He showed us a pad of four pages of telephone calls of sympathy and condolences -- 48 names. They were the leading citizens. Any one of them expressing what they had said in public could have smashed things. But they didn't..."

The big point, he said, was that not a single measure of progress has been made in Charlotte without pressure, either from law, from demonstrations or the fear of demonstrations. "Negro militancy is the only thing that will do it." And:

"It's a city with more churches than any other with the possible exception of Glasgow... without ever being moved by Christian charity...

"Charlotte had such an opportunity for prestige... It could have been a byword for racial progress all over the world..."

Perry Morgan is another editor, with another approach. As managing editor of the Charlotte News (Cash's paper, once considered the more liberal, now the more conservative of Charlotte's two papers), he has had a hand in some of the things that have happened, an insider's view, and an influence on public opinion.

The ministers, he said, set the tone for the 1963 breakthrough. Just their presence at the executive committee meeting "added to the courage of those who spoke out."

The key to understanding it, he went on, is Charlotte's fundamental stability, its fear of excess. (The whole state is this way, he said.) "People don't like to be though of as anti-Negro... There are a few iron-headed segregationists here... and these are some of the finest and most civil people you'd want to meet... One had a Negro in a prominent position in his firm; he is a sincere segregationist but not a nigger hater."

Force has been minor in Charlotte's progress, he said. The real force is the consensus which says: "Be sure you know what you're doing when you move. Don't be silly. And don't shove us; tell us why."

Dissatisfaction with tokenism is manifested by only a minority of Negroes. The body of Negro leaders

tend to the same emotional characteristics as whites: "Work it out... Accommodate."

"I think they feel they're not in the Elysian Fields, and that Charlotte is not as progressive as whites think it is, but all the same, they feel they're better off than most... And they have the same pride in it."

He said he didn't think there would be renewed demonstrations, as at Chapel Hill. They key would be "young activists from outside." They might try, "but they would be unable to carry the community... unable to achieve anything through force. 'Don't push me.' Dr. Hawkins would be the only one who would go along with them, and then only if circumstances were favorable..."

"The North Carolina Fund could be exceedingly important. It legitimizes a concern over poverty, and in Charlotte once a problem is brought into the arena, something will be done if it is needed... Just the fact of planning -- if it stops tomorrow -- is of great value..."

The important thing here is that "whites and Negroes would be grappling with the reality of the Negro condition -- poverty, ignorance, disease."

This is why, he said, he grew weary with the freedom rides (although he conceded their contributions to individual self-confidence.) They involved "so much agony

for a victory that means nothing to the mass of Negroes."

Liberals and conservatives alike use the cliche of the civil rights legislation to hide from reality -- "which is that this is a problem that will take an uncountable amount of work, wisdom, and years and years to solve."

The important thing with the Fund is that people actually face this, "with the power structure in the fore... You can't do anything without the power structure in charge. Here it can understand, and does understand, and is capable of leadership."

The need, he said, is to enter these things "freely and with good conscience..." If it is necessary for the solution of the problems of poverty to desegregate schools, this is preferable to doing it through courts and social dogma. It's the same with social contact. "I shrink from doing it for the sake of doing it. This implies acceptance of the premise that we must live and work and play together and I don't believe that is accepted anywhere... here or in the North."

It is a question of "integration on one base rather than another. People get used to ignoring color when the person is an obvious equal. But if it's just assertion of a writ, I don't accept it."

People grow into things. The way Charlotte is doing is far preferable to civil rights legislation. Growth is not at a "breathtaking rate... and when it happens, it stays."

He conceded that the 1963 breakthrough would not have happened without Birmingham. "But I hope pressure will stop short of force... that the momentum will continue... that we work it out and have it accepted as something we did. The tone is important: the absence of rancor and bitterness."

The next interview took place in the second floor office of a funeral home, with the dusk sounds of a Negro alum all around, children shouting, and wailing, adult cries, a fire engine shrieking danger through the narrow atreets. Answering the questions were James K. Polk, son-in-law of the funeral home owner, educated at Johnson C. Smith and Temple University, young, urbane, and relaxed, and Willie Davis, an elementary school teacher, a graduate of the University of Minnesota, with a masters from Columbia, more intense, equally urbane. They are the leaders of the East Side Council on Civic Affairs, the group which has conducted conversations with the top white leadership and which organized the Charlotte Placement Bureau. Mr. Polk is spoken of by some white liberals as perhaps the new look in Negro leadership, someone able to resolve the dissensions, or transcend them. Characteristically, both the older Negro leadership spokesmen and Dr. Hawkins were less enthusiastic but generally favorable to these two new-comer young leaders.

Mr. Polk and Mr. Davis talked in turns, backing up or supplementing what the other had to say. Their thoughta are rendered here in direct and indirect quotationa.

Polk: "They needed to attract business. They used a Negro on an induatry hunting mission in the North. They knew they couldn't do it with poor race relations. I don't think it was a moral decision. I would hope they would add these things... We got in by the back door, but we muat realize that this took courage... This is it when the Chamber of Commerce speaks... We were willing to go through all the trial periods -- to do what we had to do to break the ice."

Davis: "Charlotte has not done all it should. Ita church-going doesn't show up in its behavior."

Polk: "Churches ignore the problem because if they faced it, they wouldn't be able to avoid their duty... We don't have time for their hearts to change... These influential people tell us inadvertently that they will do nothing unless forced to. They suggest demonstrations without realizing what they say."

They talked of the slowness of school desegregation, the lack still of any carefully defined plan upon which Negro expectations and reactions might be based. Was their group contemplating action?

Polk: "No. We are not to the point where we could influence boycotts or law suits. It's possible we could get to that, if we found it necessary."

Davia: "Jobs are still a big problem. There are many vocations still closed. For example, there are no Negro cab drivers, and few sales people."

Polk: "I think we're moving some. Some companies are opening. But there are still too few employees. They would have you believe it's a problem to find qualified Negroes. This means being head and shoulders above the white secretary at the next desk... But we're willing to accept this... to break the ice... solely for expediency."

Davis: "They are willing to train whites. But the Negro must be trained and experienced before he can be hired." There are no Negro plumbers and electricians. They are trained, but can't be licensed. They can be licensed in many North Carolina cities. Here, an apprentice must have two licensed people to vouch for him... So Negroea are hired as common laborers to do thia akilled work at low wages. "How do you break such a vicious cycle without federal legislation?"

Polk: "We registsred four or five thousand voters. We had to take them in: there's no telling what we could do if we could get regiatrars out in the precincts... We

are working on precinct and block voter organization."

Davis: Diaaension? We're not moving for power... We have great respect for the other leaders. We don't want to ateal anybody's thunder. But we will go in where nothing is being done...

Davia: "I hope those white leaders we [the East Side Council] have met with left the meetings with the impreasion that we were uaing a diplomatic approach. We want to let them know how we feel as human beings."

Polk: "I think we are having more effect than the Msyor'a Committee [of which he is a member]. We work harder. The committee people are busy. They don't have time for theae things. In our meetings, we have time to ait and seek underatanding of how things seem to us, and what can be done on such things as jobs, education, and beautification of the community. We talk with each leader in the area of hia concentration. We spell out our hopes and aspirations. We don't tell any of them who elaa haa been in to talk with us. It's all in confidence, to inapire their confidence. It is frank discussion. They have all said they would be willing to come back.

"There's no backing down on principle, regardless of their stature. The method and procedure is give and take...

"It'a a beautiful experience for us, and for those men. Many of them never had an opportunity to sit down and have Negroes disagree with them. They're such big men..."

* * * * * * *

Three central facts stand out to form the pattern in Charlotte's race relations progress.

One is the ability of the city's leadership -- that almost mystical concept of contemporary sociology called the power structure -- to appraise racial pressures with relative dispassion, to make decisions about what the city must do, and, most importantly, to act upon them. This illustrates what may be a basic fact in civil rights -- that when the downtown elite really wants action, the city obeys. This is a commentary perhaps on the state of our democracy, and unfortunately more often seen in the South when the men of power speak evil, or by not speaking, affirm segregation and resistance to law, or, as of late in some cities, seem to speak for progress but do not really mean it. The leadership in many cities will tell you that they have done the kind of thing that Charlotte actually achieved. In others they will piously speak of "all we have done for our Negroes," at the very moment a fierce demonstration against intolerable conditions is going on outside their office windows. Unlike such leaders, the white leaders of Charlotte do not slide their eyes away when they make their hometown boosterism boasts. They have done what they say they have done; there is a pride in them about it. They are more likely to discuss what they

haven't done, and they are less defensive, more inclined to promise further change. And these attitudes are reflected among the people of the city.

The second fact is that constant pressure from Negro leaders -- most notably in the past from Dr. Hawkins -- is an acknowledged ingredient of all the progress that has been made. The orientation of Negro leadership has been toward getting results rather than plunging into protest expressive of despair. Strategy came out of research, and seemed carefully planned.

The third fact is the existence of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations as an apparatus for channeling the pressured deciaions of the business leadership into acceptable action. It also serves as a conductor of the pressure and as a place for letting off steam by both sides, and, surely most important of all, as a setting where intelligent and sensitive representatives of races long estranged and blocked by invalid over-generalizations from one another may come to the knowledge, in the gradual way of the human mind and emotions, of the individuality of each man and thus to the real truth of the race probleme with which they deal.

It is important, too, to say that all of this analyaia about pressure and reaction to pressure is meaningless without awareness that working through it

at all levels are such unanalyzable attributes of the human heart as courage, dedication, moral commitment, intellectuel honesty, devotion to duty, and simple kindness displayed in happy quantity by members of both races struggling with a great burden of the past in Charlotte.

Combined, these things form the pattern which has enabled the city, since the sit-ins, to act before demonstrations were considered necessary by Negroes -- and to whatever extent race relations are good in Charlotte, it is attributable to this pattern.

It is obvious that race relations are neither perfect nor particularly happy yet. The undercurrents of criticism and dissatisfaction which swirl in any conversation with Negroes are in part an expression, surely, of the similar undercurrent of distaste or doubt among many whites about the progress that has been made. It is becoming clear that in the long and arduous American adventure that is the race revolution, such undercurrents of antagonism are going to have to be accepted and handled by people as best they can as a normal part of the process of change.

The Negro dissatisfaction is an expression, too, of reaction to the instances where the white antagonisms to change have held sway -- most notably at the hospital, the colleges, and, to a degree, the public schools. Yet

these situations tend to bear out what has just been described as the pattern by which Charlotte has changed.

It was pointed out in various of the interviews as something of an explanation for the disparities in these areas that the men on the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Hospital Authority, the Board of Directors of the Community College System, and the men on the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education are not the same, for the most part, as the men out front and making progress through such an organization as the Chamber of Commerce.

While this is true, it is reasonable to assume -- and interviews confirmed this opinion -- that there are ties (business, social, and otherwise) between all four sets of men. It is also reasonable to assume that if the city's highest leadership had wanted to or needed to put a stop to the machinations involving hospitals, colleges, and schools, they could have, with the same thoroughness with which compliance on desegregation of public accommodations was achieved.

The point would seem to be both that the pressure was not applied as efficiently in these areas as it was in public accommodations by Negro leadership, and that these situations were complex enough to allow more maneuverability against pressure. In all three instances,

something beyond direct action or the threat of it was called for. Dr. Hawkins's efforts to get help from HEW on the hospital is indicative more than anything else of the kind of performance that has come to be expected of that agency of the federal government in such matters. They would investigate only one charge at a time, Dr. Hawkins said, rather than look at the hospital's segregation situation as a whole.

Aside from that, the failure of Negro leadership to apply efficient pressure -- as in, say, court suits -- must in some degree be attributable to the amount of dissension and antagonism among the Negro leaders. Where a concerted and cooperative effort seemed to be called for to develop a sophisticated strategy akin to business dealing or labor-management maneuvering, Charlotte's Negro leadership has been split and devoting much energy to battling each other.

This dissension is in the emergingly typical framework common to much Negro leadership at all levels in the nation: older negotiation-inclined, tolerant Negroes versus younger men who are full of impatience and inclined to action. One almost gets the feeling that the racial struggle in Charlotte has fallen into a battle of personalities that transcends race. Much at one time might have been achieved for mutual progress with the simple act of giving more recognition and honor to the contributions of Dr. Hawkins, and of acknowledgement from younger leaders of the achievements "back when things

were rough" of the older leaders.

At this writing, the dissension has broken into the open with charges and counter charges over registration performance and policy of the factions.

It seems crucial to future Charlotte progress that somehow all of this internecine battling be resolved.

The city, in part, seems settled in a pattern of amicable conference table competition between the races. In another way, it almost seems that the challenge to Negro leadership is not any more to keep up with what the white people are trying to do to them, but to keep up with white leadership in moves toward the kind of society that they, the Negroes, desire.

There will continue to be the need in the fight against de facto segregation, especially of jobs and housing, for concerted and effective Negro representation in the kind of day-to-day struggle of self-interest that is common to much of the American society's achievement in other areas. And there will continue, in Charlotte's attack on poverty, a great opportunity for Negro leadership to give invaluable assistance and to make sure that goals and results are appropriately within the framework of the open society. The challenge to much of the white citizenship centers on the need to find better reasons than pressure for living up to America's idealism.

In both cases, Charlotte seems about done with the southern battles of 100 and 200 years ago, and haa moved its racial concerns into the mainstream of American thought and activity. One leaves it wondering if the leadership there, white and Negro, is capable of overcoming whatever blocks there are to a continuation of the kind of creative will they have mustered in the past. If so, not just the South but the nation might soon look to Charlotte for leadership.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x Council of Federated
Organizations
x Weil Robert

May 13, 1964

Mr. Robert Weil
Council of Federated Organizations
1017 Lynch St., P. O. Box 2896
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Weil:

In reply to your letter of April 27, 1964, this will request that you forward all COFO releases to me at the above Washington address.

Yours in freedom,

Jules Bernstein
Legal Department

JB/mh

P.S. Send my best regards to Mendy

COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS
8017 LYNCH ST. - P. O. BOX 2896
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI - 39205

27 April 1964

International Brotherhood of
Teamsters
25 Louisianna Ave.
Washington, D.C.
Attn: Civil Rights

Gentlemen:

We feel that it would be of mutual benefit to keep you informed of our activities and publicity releases. If there is a particular person or department of the Teamsters Union to which releases from C.O.F.O., should best be sent, please advise us.

Thank you very much,

Sincerely,
Robert Weil
Robert Weil

TULC

(TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP COUNCIL)

Educational Foundation of Michigan, Incorporated

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

DAMON KEITH
PRESIDENT

PATTI KNOX
VICE-PRESIDENT

ROBERT BATTLE III
VICE-PRESIDENT

HORACE L. SHEFFIELD
CO-ORDINATOR

HELEN MITCHELL
SECRETARY

JOHN C. BROWN
TREASURER

DONALD O'NEAL
SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT

ANNE L. JONES
MORRIS GLEICHER
S. J. WIDICR
HARRY C. HACKETT
BRENDAN SEATON
KENNETH HYLTON
JOHN W. SPILLER
TOM DOWNS

8683 GRAND RIVER AVENUE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48204

TYLER 8-1020

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x Randolph, A. Philip -
Freedom House
x Trade Union Leadership Council
x Contributions
x Invitation

April 4, 1964

Mr. James R. Hoffs
2741 Trumbull Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Greetings:

In acknowledgment of your generous contribution and also to give an accounting of our stewardship, the trustees of the TULC Educational Foundation will have a reception on Monday, April 13, 1964, at 7:30 p.m., in the TULC A. Philip Randolph Freedom House at 8670 Grand River Avenue. Your presence is sincerely requested.

It would assist us greatly in our plans for this affair if you would complete the enclosed postal card and promptly return same.

Respectfully and sincerely,

Damon Keith, President
TULC Educational Foundation

DK:hm

"Whose Neglects Learning In His Youth Loses The Past And Is Dead For The Future"

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS
4¢
U.S. POSTAGE
TULC
Educational Foundation of Michigan, Inc.
c/o 8670 GRAND RIVER AVENUE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48204

I will attend the reception ☐

I cannot attend the reception ☐

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

Phone.....

Negro American Labor Council

WESTCHESTER COUNTY CHAPTER

364 North Avenue • New Rochelle, N. Y.

NE 6-8933

Joseph T. Jackson, *President*
William Gibson, *Vice President*
Anita Cooper, *Secretary*
Kelly L. Basnight, *Chaplain*
Stewart J. Moore, *Treasurer*

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Henry Washington
H. Woodrow Miller
Wayman Cook, Jr.
Eugene A. Carson
George Hargrove
Elijah Benjamin
Leroy Gantt
Trinidad Lago
Arthur Cunningham
Bobbie L. Boone
Clifton Wilson
John P. Smith

LAY ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS

Drew S. Days
Hon. John E. Flynn
Daniel F. Gagliardi
Dr. William S. Randolph
Hon. Christopher J. Murphy
Mrs. Leona Farrington
William Rowe
Hon. Alvin R. Ruskin
William J. Trent, Jr.
Nelson C. Jackson
Frederick B. Powers
Marion S. English
Rev. Andrew F. Whitted
Paul B. Zuber Esq.
Hon. William F. Lynch

LEGAL REPRESENTATIVES

I. Philip Sipser Esq.
Arthur W. Baily Esq.
H. Hawthorne Harris Esq.
Leonard J. Dorfman Esq.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x Negro American Labor Council
x Contribution

March 13, 1964

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

A. Philip Randolph is undoubtedly one of the great Americans of our time and has done as much for democracy as any man living or dead. His Horatio Alger rise in the world of labor is one of the most fantastic stories of the American way of life.

On April 24, 1964, the Westchester County Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council, of which he is the founder and president, will salute this great statesman of labor. This long overdue tribute will be held at Westchester's famed Glen Island Casino. Leading political, labor, civic and just plain citizens will take part in this event. It will afford us a grest opportunity to prove that those institutiona of democracy are not perfect--they are free.

This letter ia to ask that you help us to make thia the greatest manifeatation of togetherness ever aeen in Westcheater. Enclosed is an advertising order for the souvenir journal which will give lasting effect to this affair. We are planning 20,000 for distribution the night of the dinner and throughout the country. We are doing this so that all might see the high esteem in which A. Philip Randolph is held.

We certainly hope that you will take part in some measure. It's a great opportunity for us all to reiterate the principles of democracy. Our deadline for copy is April 10, 1964.

Gratefully yours,

William L. Rowe

William L. Rowe

Mr. James R. Hoffa
President
International Brotherhood of
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehouseman
and Helpers of America
25 Louisiana Ave. N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

WLR/cw

Enclosure

Contract for space in Souvenir Journal of

THE WESTCHESTER COUNTY CHAPTER
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL'S

Salute To

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

to be held at Badolato's world-famous

GLEN ISLAND CASINO

FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1964

NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL NALC

№ 2006

RATES	
Gold Page	$150.00
Full Page	$100.00
Half Page	$ 50.00
Quarter Page	$ 25.00
Eighth Page	$ 12.50

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Firm or Organization .....

Solicitor .....

Please draw checks payable to
WESTCHESTER COUNTY NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

SPACE BELOW RESERVED FOR COPY

WESTCHESTER COUNTY NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL'S

Salute To

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

№ 2006

Received from .....

the sum of $ ..... *for* ..... *page*
in the Souvenir Program.

SOLICITOR .....

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
Civil Rights Commission

March 12, 1964

Mr. Harold J. Gibbons
Vice-President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
Chauffeurs, Warehousemen & Helpers
of America
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

In the absence of Dr. Hannah, I am replying to your letter of February 28.

The Commission was generally aware of the situation described in your letter. You may have noted that in a recent report on apprenticeship, the Commission noted that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters had indicated a willingness to sign a Plan for Fair Practices, but that it had not been permitted to do so. We are glad to have a more complete record of the efforts of your Union in this regard and of the response of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Howard W. Rogerson

Howard W. Rogerson
Acting

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Civil Rights Commission
X

February 25, 1964

Dr. John A. Hannah, Chairman
Civil Rights Commission
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Hannah:

Since the Civil Rights Commission is engaged in a continuing study of federal programs in the area of promoting racial equality and equal employment opportunities, I wish to call to your attention a situation which I believe will be of interest to the Commission.

As you are aware, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has promoted a program of "Plans for Fair Practices for Unions." Under this program, approximately 117 affiliates of the AFL-CIO have formally entered into such Plans. While the records of the Commission may indicate that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America has not entered into such a Plan, I am enclosing a brochure of correspondence between General President Hoffa and the President's Committee which will indicate the Teamsters' continuing effort to enter into a Plan, as well as the position of the President's Committee with respect to the Teamsters' requests. These letters are being submitted so that the records and reports of the Civil Rights Commission will properly reflect the position of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with respect to the Plans for Fair Practices.

Very truly yours,

Harold J. Gibbons
Vice President

HJG:sh
Enclosure

Copy

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19104 • AREA CODE 215—BAring 5-1106 • CABLE: NATSTUD

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
United States Natl.
Student Association
x Millspaugh, Frank

March 4, 1964

Mr. James R. Hoffa
President, International
Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

During the Spring months of 1964, the United States National Student Association, in cosponsorship with the United States Youth Council, will hold a nation-wide educational materials drive, entitled "Books for Equal Education" (BEE). The drive will solicit textbooks, reference works, general literature, etc., on all academic levels, grade school through college. Recipients of these books will be Southern Negro schools and literacy projects. Our special concern this year is for those high schools and colleges from which accreditation has been withdrawn or withheld because of inadequate library resources.

You are probably aware of the circumstances under which many Southern Negro schools operate. Besides the woefully inadequate physical facilities and supply of qualified teachers, there is little from which to teach. Books, perhaps the most important building material in the construction of an educational institution, are in very short supply.

The self-motivated student, rare as he may be, needs at least books to educate himself. The school building may be dilapidated, the instructional staff deficient in size and training, but he can still learn if he has access to the proper books. Yet many colleges, and high schools, face suspension from their accreditation agencies for lack of sufficient books in their libraries. And few Southern Negro students have funds to buy adequate books.

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • U. S. Youth Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

President
GREGORY M. GALLO
University of Wisconsin

NATIONAL AFFAIRS
Vice President
JOEL SHARKEY
Monteith College
Wayne State University
Student Government Vice President
JACK DAVID
Rutgers College
Student Government Vice President
VANCE OPPERMAN
Grinnell College
Director Community Issues Desk
FRANK A. MILLSPAUGH
University of Illinois
Student Government Information Service Director
MARY MEENAN
Trinity College
Washington, D. C.
Public Relations and Development
DORIS GIBSON
Loyola of the South

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Vice President
ALEXANDER KORNS
Harvard College
Administrative Secretary
MARGARET R. HUNT
Pennsylvania State University
Harvard University
Director of Exchanges
JAMES T. HENDRICK
University of Illinois
Special Assistant
MICHAEL SCHWARTZ
University of Wisconsin
Special Assistant
RONALD STOKY
University of Texas
Latin American Assistant
THOMAS LAMOUREUX
Ohio State University
Latin American Assistant
DAVID SPENCER
Harvard College

West Coast Office
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California
Educational Travel, Inc.
255 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York
West Coast Office
1355 Westwood Boulevard
Los Angeles, California
Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NATIONAL ADVISORS
Sidney Hertzberg
Editor
Current Magazine
Rev. T. M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President
University of Notre Dame
Russell Kirk
Editor
The University Bookman
Robert N. Shaffer
Dean of Students
Indiana University
Milton Shapp
Chairman of the Board
Jerrold Electronics

Special Advisor
RUTH HADY BROD

Annually, college and high school students in many parts of the country throw away, store away, or sell for pennies, books that they no longer need but that are so seriously needed in the South. It is our hope that we may be able to develop an effective and comprehensive drive to collect such materials and direct them to a productive outlet.

The goal for this drive is 250,000 books. We hope that, if successful, the drive can become an annual, enlarged project with expansion of recipients to include the deficient educational facilities of the Appalachian region, migrant worker areas, Indian settlements, and urban literacy projects.

In addition to the four hundred colleges and universities which comprise the United States National Student Association and the thirty-four national youth organizations which are members of the United States Youth Council, we hope to add to our list of supporting agencies several education associations and adult social service organizations.

I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to discuss this drive with you or a member of your staff vis a vis the possibilities of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters' assistance in transporting these books from their collection points to their point of convergence in Atlanta, Georgia. The physical movement of these books would take place in late May and early June. Perhaps the shipping could be undertaken as a cooperative effort between the Teamsters' Union and the trucking industry. I would be most interested in discussing any possible arrangements of this general nature.

I am aware of the excellent record of the Union in its support of such projects in the past. The Union has on several occasions come to the assistance of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which will be acting as distributor for the book drive, and I hope that you may also find this project deserving of your interest and support.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Millspaugh
Chairman, Books for Equal Education

FM/db

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP LIST JANUARY, 1964

CALIFORNIA NEVADA HAWAII
California State College at Hayward, Hayward, California
Chaminade College, Honolulu 16, Hawaii
Church College of Hawaii, Lai, Onah, Hawaii
Diablo Valley College, Concord, California
Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles, California
Los Angeles State College, Los Angeles, California
Mt. St. Mary's College, Los Angeles, California
Pomona College, Claremont, California
San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California
Stanford University, Palo Alto, California
University of California, Berkeley, California
University of California, Los Angeles, California
University of California Graduate School, Los Angeles, California
University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii
University of the Pacific, Stockton, California
University of the Redlands, Redlands, California

CAROLINAS VIRGINIA
Agriculture and Technical College, Greensboro, North Carolina
Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, North Carolina
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont, North Carolina
Bennett College, Bridgewater, Virginia
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Virginia
Charlotte College, Charlotte, North Carolina
Claflin College, Orangeburg, South Carolina
Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina
Davidson College, Davidson, North Carolina
Duke University (Men's), Durham, North Carolina
East Carolina College, Greenville, North Carolina
Emory and Henry College, Emory, Virginia
Fayetteville State College, Fayetteville, North Carolina
Greensboro College, Greensboro, North Carolina
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia
Hollins College, Hollins, Virginia
Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina
Limestone College, Gaffney, South Carolina
Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina
Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Fredericksburg, Va.
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer, North Carolina
Queens College, Charlotte, North Carolina
Salem College, Winston Salem, North Carolina
Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina
South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, South Carolina
State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh, North Carolina
Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Virginia
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
University of North Carolina at Greensboro, North Carolina
Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia
Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia
Women's College--Duke University, Durham, North Carolina

GREAT NORTHWEST
Cascade College, Portland, Oregon
Central Washington College of Education, Ellensburg, Washington
Eastern Washington College of Education, Cheney, Washington
Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington
Marylhurst College, Marylhurst, Oregon
Reed College, Portland, Oregon
University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
University of Portland, Portlant, Oregond
University of Washington, Seattle, Washington
Washington State University, Pullman, Washington
Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Washington

GREAT SOUTHEAST
Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia
Barry College, Miami, Florida
Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia
Florida A. & M. College, Tallahassee, Florida
Hibbs Jr. College, St. Petersburg, Florida
Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Georgia
Savannah State College, Savannah, Georgia
Shorter College, Rome, Georgia

GREAT SOUTHWEST
Austin College, Sherman, Texas
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas
Phillips University, Enid, Oklahoma
Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos, Texas
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview, Texas

ILLINOIS WISCONSIN
Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois
Barat College of the Sacred Heart, Lake Forest, Illinois
Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin
Illinois State University, Normal, Illinois
Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois
Lakeland College, Plymouth, Wisconsin
Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin
Milton College, Milton, Wisconsin
Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Mundelein College, Chicago, Illinois
National College of Education, Evanston, Illinois
North Central College, Naperville, Illinois
North Park College, Chicago, Illinois
Northland College, Ashland, Wisconsin
Ripon College, Ripon, Wisconsin
Roosevelt University, Chicago, Illinois
Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois
Shimer College, Mt. Carroll, Illinois
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois
St. Mary's College, Elmwood Park, Illinois
University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois
University of Illinois--Navy Pier, Chicago, Illinois
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin
Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois
Wright Jr. College, Chicago, Illinois

IOWA NEBRASKA
Briar Cliff College, Sioux City, Iowa
Central College, Pella, Iowa
Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa
Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
Ellsworth Jr. College, Iowa Falls, Iowa
Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa
Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa
Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa
St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa
Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa
University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Iowa
Westmar College, LeMars, Iowa

KENTUCKY TENNESSEE
Bellarmine College, Louisville, Kentucky
Berea College, Berea, Kentucky
Catherine Spaulding College, Louisville, Kentucky
Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky
King College, Bristol, Tennessee
LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee
Pikeville College, Pikeville, Kentucky
Southwestern at Memphis, Memphis, Tennessee
Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee

MASON DIXON
Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland
Coppin Teachers College, Baltimore, Maryland
Delaware State College, Dover, Delaware
Dumbarton College of the Holy Cross, Washington, D. C.
Gallaudet College, Washington, D. C.
Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland
Hood College, Frederick, Maryland
Howard University, Washington, D. C.
Maryland State Teachers College, Frostburg, Maryland
Maryland State Teachers College, Towson, Maryland
Morgan State College, Baltimore, Maryland
State Teachers College, Bowie, Maryland
Trinity College, Washington, D. C.
University of Baltimore, Baltimore, Maryland
Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland
Wesley Junior College, Dover, Delaware

METROPOLITAN NEW YORK
Barnard College, New York, New York
CCNY--Baruch Day, New York, New York
CCNY--Main Day, New York, New York
C.W.Post College of Long Island University, New York, New York
College of New Rochelle, New Rochelle, New York
Columbia University, New York, New York
Concordia Collegiate Institute, Bronxville, New York
Fordham School of Education, New York, New York
Good Counsel College, White Plains, New York
Hofstra College, Hempstead, Long Island, New York
Hunter College, Bronx, New York
Hunter College, Park Avenue, New York

Manhattan College, New York, New York
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase, New York
Marymount College, Tarrytown, New York
New York University All Square Congress, Washington Square, N. Y
Notre Dame College, Staten Island, New York
Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, Brooklyn, New York
Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York
Queens College, Flushing, New York
Queensboro Community College, Queensboro, New York
St. Francis College, kBrooklyn, New York
St. John's University, Brooklyn, New York
St. John's University, Jamaica, New York
St. Joseph's College, Brooklyn, New York
Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York
Stern College for Women, New York, New York
The King's College, New York, New York
Yeshiva College, New York, New York

MICHIGAN
Alma College, Alma, Michigan
Central Michigan College, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan
Flint Jr. College, Flint, Michigan
Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan
Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan
Marcy College, Detroit, Michigan
Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan

MINNESOTA DAKOTAS
Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minnesota
Bethel College, St. Paul, Minnesota
Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota
College of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, Minnesota
College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minnesota
College of St. Therese, Winona, Minnesota
Dakota Wesleyan, Mitchell, South kDakota
Dickinson State College, Dickinson, North Dakota
Huron College, Huron, South Dakota
Macalester College, kSt. Paul Minnesota
Mankato State College, Mankato, Minnesota
St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minnesota
St. Mary's College, Winona, Minnesota
Southern State Teachers College, Springfield, South Dakota
University of Minnesota, Duluth, Minnesota
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota
University of Minnesota, Morris, Minnesota
Yankton College, Yankton, South Dakota

MISSOURI KANSAS
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Cottey College, Nevada, Missouri
Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri
Marymount College, Salina, Kansas
Maryville College, St. Louis, Missouri
Mt. St. Scholastica College, Atchison, Kansas
Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kansas
St. Benedict College, Atchison, Kansas
Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield, Missouri
University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri
Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri
Webster College, Webster Groves, Missouri

NEW ENGLAND
Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, Connecticut
American International College, Springfield, Massachusetts
Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts
Anne Maria College, Paxton, Massachusetts
Barrington College, Barrington, Rhode Island
Bradford Jr. College, Bradford, Massachusetts
Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts
Cardinal Cushing College, Brookline, Massachusetts
Central Connecticut State College, New Britain, Connecticut
Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts
Colby College, Waterville, Maine
Colby Jr. College for Women, New London, New Hampshire

Emmanuel College, Boston, Massachusetts
Fisher Jr. College, Boston, Massachusetts
Garland Jr. College, Boston, Massachusetts
Green Mountain College, Poultney, Vermont
Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Harvard Radcliffe Graduate School, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Husson College, Bangor, Maine
Lasley College, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Mitchell College, New London, Connecticut
Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts
Mt. St. Mary's College, Hooksett, New Hampshire
Newton College of the Sacred Heart, Newton, Massachusetts
Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts
Our Lady of the Elms College, Chicoppe, Massachusetts
Providence College, Providence, Rhode Island
Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Regis College, Weston, Massachusetts
St. Anselm's College, Manchester, New Hampshire
St. Joseph's College, West Hartford, Connecticut
Salve Regina College, Newport, Rhode Island
Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts
Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York
Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts
Springfield College, Springfield, Massachusetts
State College, Bridgewater, Massachusetts
State Teachers College, Keene, New Hampshire
State College, Fitchburg, Massachusetts
State College, Framingham, Massachusetts
State Teachers College, Castleton, Vermont

State College, Salem, Massachusetts
State College, Westfield, Massachusetts
University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut
University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont
University of Rhode Island, Kingston, Rhode Island
Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts
Wesleyan University, Middleton, Connecticut
Worcester Junior College, Worcester, Massachusetts

NEW JERSEY
Bloomfield College, Bloomfield, New Jersey
College of St. Elizabeth, Convent Station, New Jersey
Douglass College, New Brunswick, New Jersey
Drew University, Madison, New Jersey
Fairleigh Dickinson, Teaneck, New Jersey
Fairleigh Dickinson, Rutherford, New Jersey
Glassboro State College, Glassboro, New Jersey
Monmouth College, Long Branch, New Jersey
Newark State College, Union, New Jersey
Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey
Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey
Trenton Jr. College, Trenton, New Jersey
Trenton State College, Trenton, New Jersey
Upsala College, East Orange, New Jersey

NEW YORK STATE
Alfred University, Alfred, New York
Bard College, Annandale on the Hudson, New York
College of St. Rose, Albany, New York
Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
D'Youville College, Buffalo, New York
Harpur College, Binghamton, New York
Ithaca College, Ithaca, New York
Oneonta State Teachers College, Oneonta, New York
Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, New York
Rosary Hill College, Buffalo, New York
State Teachers College, Cortland, New York
State Teachers College Fredonia, New York
State Teachers College, Potsdam, New York
Union College, Schenectady, New York
University of Buffalo, Buffalo, New York
University of Rochester, Rochester, New York
Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York
Wells College, Aurora, New York

OHIO INDIANA
Capital University, Columbus, Ohio
Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio
De Pauw University, Greenville, Indiana
Penn College, Cleveland, Ohio
John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio
Kenyon College, Greenbier, Ohio
Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio
Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio
St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Ohio
Taylor University, Upland, Indiana
University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio

University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana
Ursuline College, Cleveland, Ohio
Western College, Oxford, Ohio
Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio
Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio

PENNSYLVANIA WEST VIRGINIA
Alderson Broaddus College, Phillippi, West Virginia
Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania
Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pennsylvania
Beaver College, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania
Bryn Mawr Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pennsylvania
Chatham College, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Chestnut Hill College, Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania
Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania
Eastern Baptist College, St. Davids, Pennsylvania
Gannon College, Erie, Pennsylvania
Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania
Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania
Mercyhurst College, Erie Pennsylvania
Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Muhlenburg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania
Pennsylvania Military College, Chester, Pennsylvania
Philadelphia College of Textiles and Science, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Rosemont College, Rosemont, Pennsylvania
St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
St. Vincent's College, Latrobe, Pennsylvania
Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pennsylvania
Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania
Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Thiel College, Greenville, Pennsylvania
University of Pennsylvania (Women), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
University of Pennsylvania (Men), Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania
West Virginia State College, Institute, West Virginia
Westminister College, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania
Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania

ROCKY MOUNTAIN
Loretto Heights College, Loretto, Colorado
Rocky Mountain College, Billings, Montana
University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado
University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico

SOUTH CENTRAL
Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama
Arkansas A. M. & N., Pine Bluff, Arkansas
Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana
Grambling College, Grambling, Louisiana
Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans, Louisiana
Southern University A. & M., Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Spring Hill College, Spring Hill, Alabama
Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama

Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Mississippi
Tulane University Graduate School, New Orleans, Louisiana
Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama
Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana

UTAH

College of Southern Utah, Cedar City, Utah
University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Westminister College, Salt Lake City, Utah

NEW AFFILIATIONS
Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi--South Central Region
Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Georgia -- Great Southeast Region

UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL

345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

Americans for Democratic Action

American Friends Service Committee (Associate Member)

American Youth Hostels

Association of International Relations Clubs

B'nai B'rith Young Adults

Collegiate Council for the United Nations

Encampment for Citizenship (Associate Member)

Experimenter's Association

4-H Clubs

Lisle Fellowship, Inc.

National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

National Catholic Youth Organizations Federation

National Council, Student Young Men's Christian Association

National Federation of Catholic College Students

National Jewish Welfare Board

National Newman Club Federation

National Student Christian Federation

North American Student Cooperative League

Rural Youth of the United States of America

Students for a Democratic Society

Student Religious Liberals

United Christian Youth Movement

United World Federalists

U. S. National Student Association

U. S. Student Press Association

Workmen's Circle (Associate Member)

World University Service (Associate Member)

Young Christian Students

Young Christian Workers

Young Democratic Clubs of America

Young Men's Christian Association, Youth Division

Young People's Socialist League

Young Women's Christian Association

February 17, 1964

Mr. Clyde Crosby, General Organizer
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
1020 Northeast Third Avenue
Portland, Oregon

Dear Sir and Brother:

The enclosed is self-explanatory.

It is the recommendation of the General President that the Joint Council participate in this worthwhile project.

Fraternally yours,

James R. Harding
Special Assistant to
the General President

JRH/mc

Enclosure

the ymca-ywca **round table**

OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENT CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, MEMORIAL UNION 214-215, PLAZA 2-4211, EXT. 1155 CORVALLIS, OREGON

DENNIS L. CRAWFORD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 12, 1964

Mr James H. Hoffa
General President, International Teamsters
25 Louisana N. E.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We have undertaken a project to raise at least 10,000 books for Miles College, a small negro school in Birmingham, Alabama. We have now collected over 11,000 books and hope to transport them by truck to Miles College the end of March.

Our major obstacle at this time is the cost of shipping the books. We have collected $600 toward the expense which we estimate will run $1200 depending on the weight. What we are asking is if the International Teamsters Union can help us in trucking these books down to Miles College?

Sincerely,

Dennis L. Crawford

DENNIS L. CRAWFORD
Executive Secretary

DC/ar

PURPOSE

This book drive has been conceived as a way for Oregon State University students and faculty, residents of Corvallis and the state of Oregon to express their concerned interest in the struggle for human dignity and equal opportunity for all.

President Lucius Pitts of Miles College, a courageous Negro leader, wrote upon hearing of the OSU book drive: "Your contribution of books could well mean that we would be in a position to meet Standard 6 of the Southern Association (for accreditation). God bless you in your efforts to bless us here in Birmingham and thus bless our whole world."

President Pitts will fly to Oregon to address Oregon State University January 22 at 4 p.m. in the Home Economics Auditorium. He will speak again at 8 p.m. in the First Methodist Church of Corvallis. The public is invited to either address.

It is hoped that this project will not be the end, but only the beginning of constructive action on the part of people in the Northwest toward the complete fulfillment of the American dream, "with liberty and justice for all."

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF
GENERAL PRESIDENT
FEB 17 8 24 AM 1964
L.B. OF T.
C.W. & H. OF A.

"BOOKS" FOR BIRMINGHAM

Book Drive for Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

January 20 - February 2

Oregon State University
YMCA-YWCA
Memorial Union 214
Corvallis, Oregon

MILES COLLEGE

Birmingham, Alabama

"Miles is the only four-year college available to most of the 2,000 graduates from the Birmingham area's 17 Negro high schools. It has an enrollment of 758 regular term students and 400 additional during the summer. It produces 60% of the city's Negro schoolteachers.

"The school is named after the first bishop of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, the Negro denomination which founded the school in 1905. This year the Church was able to give Miles only $26,000, or less than one month's payroll.

"Miles has been limping along on a small endowment, some gifts, and the tuition and fees of its struggling students. It lacks accreditation largely because of its inadequate library. In 1961 students were sent out from the college with tin cans to collect dimes in a drive for the library. Time Magazine reported: 'Bull Connor, then Birmingham's commissioner of public safety, vetoed the drive... Incensed at Connor's meanness, people all over the country chipped in books. Yale students collected 6,000 books and delivered them personally; the Miles library now has 28,000 volumes.'"
(Oregon State University has 445,000)

TYPE OF BOOKS NEEDED

President Pitts of Miles College gave this description of the books they need: "We need all kinds of books, but particularly in the areas of the natural sciences (biology, chemistry, zoology, histology and the earth sciences), speech, English and linguistics.
(Paperbacks are not requested)

COLLECTION OF BOOKS

Collection points will be set up in most buildings on campus, in living groups and other Corvallis buildings. Other communities wanting to participate in the drive are urged to help with the transportation cost of the books from Corvallis to Birmingham.

CONTRIBUTIONS

All contributions may be sent in care of:

YMCA-YWCA Round Table
Memorial Union 214
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon 97331

All contributions which exceed the cost of the drive and transportation will be given to the library of Miles College.

BOOK DRIVE COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN: Mr. John Wooster
OSU Senior

FACULTY ADVISORS:
Dr. Faith Norris
Dr. Frank Shaw
Dr. Charles Leach

DRIVE COORDINATOR:
Dr. Dennis Crawford

PUBLICITY CHAIRMEN:
Miss Linda Driskill
Mr. Bob McDermott

COORDINATORS OF FINANCE
Dr. Faith Norris
Dr. Charles Leach

FINANCE TREASURER
Mr. Norman Hoffman

COORDINATOR OF BOOK COLLECTION
Mr. Vic Cordell

STORAGE AND PACKING
Mr. Jerry Corlies

DRIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS
Mr. Carlton Olson
Miss Barbara Wilson
Miss Anne Crandall
Mr. Jack McGrew
Miss Sharon Barnardy
Mr. Ralph Koozer
Mr. Bill Harrell
Mr. Richard Anderson
Miss Barbara Forsythe
Miss Caren Mikkalo
Mr. Chuck Weed
Miss Patty Murphy
Miss Alice Sile

Gen. Pres. FILE
x Southern Christian Leadership Conference
x Contributions

Office of the ~~General President~~

To: General Secretary-Treasurer English

From: James R. Hoffa

January 22, 1964
DATE

This will authorize the issuance of a check in the amount of $5,000.00 to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to be used for rebuilding the bombed church in Birmingham, Alabama.

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH/ofb

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS • WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA

January 15, 1964

Mr. John P. English, General Secretary-
Treasurer
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Sir and Brother:

This is to advise that in a conversation with the General President in Chicago it was agreed that the International would make a contribution to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the amount of $5,000, which is to be used for re-building the burned church in Birmingham, Alabama.

In the event this has been overlooked in the shuffle I would like to use this method to advise you of this conversation in order that this might be consummated at the earliest possible moment since they need the money so badly.

With best wishes, I remain

Fraternally yours,

Murray W. Miller
Vice President & Area Director

MWM:bh

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE CF
Civil Rights
X Local
X Bond, Lloyd

January 7, 1964

Mr. Anthony Provenzano, Presidant
Teamsters Local Union 560
707 Summit Avenue, Fifth Floor
Union City, New Jersey

Re: Member, Lloyd Bond

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed for your information and disposition is a copy of a letter which I received from a member of Local 560. Attached also are copies of previous correspondance concerning this member.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

L. N. Steinberg
Personal Representative
to the General President

LNS:ao'n
Enclosures

1/4/64

Dear Sir:

I wrote you a letter some time ago concerning discrimination practices in the teamsters in my area. You answer ~~have~~ saying I was obviously mistaken as to actual facts local 560-641-807-707 478-107 have no negroes in any official capacity so much for this ~~subjected~~

I am a former employer of Rodgers Motor Lines, I believe you know about the Branch Motor Express has bought out Rodgers leaving 35 to 40 men unemploy this movement ~~[illegible]~~ put men out of work in the New York terminal and the Jersey operation.

I want to know why their hasn't been some sort of ~~[illegible]~~ protection in the past contracts to protect men like me and my brother member's. I served Rodgers Motor Lines for eighteen year, I help to get his business in shape to sell, in all those years of service.

For this amount of service I think we as teamster should get severance pay for this amount of year. And also in a lay out why can their be pay roll seniority or man for man in a thing of this nature.

Please take in consideration these perposal I think they are pretty concrete so other brother members will not face this in the future

Brother Member
Lloyd Bond
580 Union City Nj
Ledger No 7529

RETURN ADDRESS
Lloyd Bond
603 W 184 St
N.Y.C
Mr. Lawrence N Steinberg
Personal Representative
To the General President
25 Louisiana Ave N.W.
Washington 1, DC

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE CF
Civil Rights
x 560
x Bond, Floyd

September 12, 1963

Mr. Floyd Bond
603 West 184 Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir and Brother:

This will acknowledge your letter dated September 3rd, wherein you infer that this Union practices discrimination against Negroes. Nothing could be further from the truth.

You are obviously mistaken as to the actual facts when you state we have no Negroes in any official capacity. In your area, the President for the past 10 years of Tanestere Local 237, City Employees, happens to be a Negro by the name of Willlam Lewis.

As for the March of August 28, again you are mistaken. Many local unions affiliated with the International Union of Teamsters, not only physically participated in the march to which you refer, but contributed financially.

Fraternally yours,

Lawrence N. Steinberg
Personal Representative
to the General President

LNS:js

cc: Anthony Provenzano

9/3/63

Dear Sir:

The teamster was not represented on the platform Aug 28, 1963. by your presente Mr Hoffa or enyone of the teamster local.

Perhaps you felt within yourself that the March did not served eny perpose. The march awaken the conscience of both races whether you know it or not.

There is plenty of discrimination in the teamster union. I have been a teamster for twenty eight years, we as Negro are not holding eny official office in this the Metropolitan area. their are jobs were they don't even one Negro's and you and I know it.

If we don't win freedom now, we might just as well forget about it. This March will be a major, mighty massive, monumental thrust that will shake America. Only an awakened ~~[illegible]~~ aroused oppressed can shake the conscience of the oppressor. In this

II

American society you only get what you take."

Floyd Bond
560 7329
603 W 184 St
N.Y.C

P.S. I am Anthony Provenzano's Supporter

President of 560

NSM

THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE NEW YORK 27 MO 3 0800
Baltimore Boston Chicago Detroit Harlem Hartford
Philadelphia Washington, D.C. 65 College Campuses
William Strickland Executive Director

December 10, 1963

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights - Northern
Student Movement
X

Mr. Harold Gibbens
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Gibbens:

Julie Bernstein of your Washington office, Paul DeBrul of the IUD and just about everyone else inside and around the labor movement suggested that you might give a sympathetic hearing to the program and needs of the Northern Student Movement(NSM.) Not as well known as its brother organization in the South(SNCC), NSM is the main vehicle for student civil rights action in the North. NSM is working quietly with forty-five student field workers fulltime, in developing a multiplicity of programs whose intent is to enable the disenfranchised and alienated ghetto dweller to become aware of his own power to effect social change. Our programs--which involve thousands of college students--include highly effective tutorials for "culturally deprived youths, are all offered in the context of involving people in the process of confronting those institutions which now so limit their lives.

Translated into practical action, NSM projects have been in the forefront of the rent strike movement in New York's Harlem, the Freedom Day School Stay-out in Chicago, as well as the Freedom Schools in Boston. NSM tutorials have formed the model for similar student efforts accross the country, and sixty-five campus groups still work closely with the NSM office. At this point, NSM programs are crippled for lack of funds. Although we have been able to attract some foundation support, there is not enough money on hand to even pay the subsistence salaries($20-50 a week, based on need) of our interracial staff.As our programs begin to yield more fundamental challenges to certain institutions, the likelihood of continued support from conservative foundations seems nil. Thus we are turning to friends in the labor movement for financial help, ideas, and cooperation.

Enclosed are articles describing some of NSM's efforts. We would be anxious to meet with you, if at all possible, and provide any other information you might deem necessary.

Fraternally yours,

Daniel Schechter

Daniel Schochter
Communications Coordinator

DS:d

NSM NEWS

Northern Student Movement

Vol. 1, No. 1. December 1, 1963

NSM Director Explains The Movement

By Bill Strickland

NSM began as a response to the challenge presented by students in the South confronting the barriers and hypocrises which shamed their lives. Their efforts called the attention of us all to our own particular situations and made apparent, for what seemed like the very first time, the gap in America between belief and behavior.

Thus NSM began be-

(cont. on page5)

VSM Holds Confab On —Campus Plans

Two hundred delegates, observers, and NSM staff attended the Second Annual Intercollegiate Conference on "Social Justice: A New Approach", at Columbia University over the weekend of Oct.26 27, and 28.

The conference's success was particularly evident in the enthusiastic response it elicited from those who were being exposed for the first time to NSM's philosophy of direct action by the community.

It was obvious the first time Bayard Rustin was interrupted by applause that the audience agreed that " the only demonstrations which are useful are those which are lead by the people themselves."

The conference was more than just a chance for previously non-committed, but sympathetic, students to find directions, however.

Much of the delegates' time was spent in discussion of better ways to coordinate NSM's city-projects with the campuses. One suggestion was to put the NSM NEWS out on a regular schedule.

Paul Goodman, author and sociologist, evaluated the work of NSM in the light of his experience in the labor

(cont. on page 4)

Hayden, Speak on Protest in Ghetto

Bayard Rustin, Coordinator of the March on Washington, told the delegates to the NSM Conference that" a number of Civil Rights Organizations have gone about as far as they can go," and praised NSM for operating in the new directions needed.

Mr. Rustin stressed again and again that "the Civil Rights Organizations must develop a indigeneous people's Mo-

Mr. Rustin went on to say that the Civil Rights Bill is designed to keep "the people off the streets," and that it will not pass unless the "people are so active that...the government must accomodate."

Thomas Hayden, from the University of Michagen said that America seems to have an unlimited capacity for absorbing Protests, and that if there is to be any real change in the society, there Movement will have to become very specific in its goals, and give up general ob-

Successful Rent Strike Rocks Harlem

"Harlem Tenants Open Rent Strike", read the front page headline of the New York Times. Thus was announced the culmination of a summer's efforts by the Harlem Education Project, the NSM affiliate in New York's ghetto.

Few things have shaken up Harlem as did this rent strike. For the first time in the ghetto's sordid history, the people had taken the lead in launching the social revolution on which America's future depends.

Although several public figures had issued calls for "massive rent strikes", everyone knew that no organization was working deeply in housing.

No group, that is, until the activities of the 2560 Eighth Avenue Tenants' Association became new"fit to print."

The equally unknown leader of the first successful Harlem rent strike was discovered to be, not an outsider with good intentions, but a resident of the tenement, the father of six and an unemployed welfare recipient, Granville Cherry.

HEP met Mr. Cherry

(cont. on page 6)

"Antigone" in Baltimore

Baltimore NSM's BAYOU Players presented Sophocles' "Antigone" on WJZ-TV, October 12, thus being the first NSM drama group to use this medium.

In keeping with the NSM policy of relating its projects to the need for social change, this play is "quite a topical drama", as the Baltimore Sun put it. The heroine tells the local power structure, her uncle, King Creon, that "Nor did I deem thine edicts of such force... that they should o'erride unwritten laws, eternal in the heavens.

BAYOU has sponsored other imaginative projects, such as a Future Nurses, Dance, Music, and Journalism Club, plus a large tutorial.

Freedom Schools In Harlem

What contributions have Negroes made to American society? Why should Negroes be proud of their history and culture?

In most cases, school children in America do not explore these questions. Most schools do not teach Negro history, or use textbooks that accurately present minority group contributions to America.

This has led to the creation of Freedom Schools, a creation in which NSM has played a part.

Although Freedom Schools have been set up temporarily in several cities, this Fall in Harlem, preparations for a school boycott led to a more permanent Freedom School program.

In Harlem, HEP stafer Steve Judson worked with the Harlem Parents Committee to develop a

(cont. on page 5)

Central Staff Calls For More Researchers

The NSM Central Staff has recently initiated a series of research projects in conjunction with the City Staffs.

"These analyses are directed towards using more efficiently the resources available to us," said Sharon Jeffrey, the NSM staffer in charge of the program.

"We feel that the lack of a system of project analysis has resulted in inadequate and irrelevant demands and tactics," she said.

Miss Jeffrey described a typical project as "one involving an investigation into the housing code in preparation for a rent strike. This would also involve examining the

(cont. on page 5)

The NSM News is a publication of The Northern Student Movement, 73 Morningside Drive, New York City.

Editors: Dan Schechter, Julian Houston.

250,000 Children Boycott Chicago Schools, SWAP Plays Large Part

Two hundred and fifty thousand Chicago school children can't be wrong! On October 22, twenty civil rights and religious organizations, including WSM's Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP), engineered a school boycott which left half of Chicago's schools empty. The protest was against de-facto segregation and inferior education for Negro youth.

Although the boycott was organized by a Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, much of the credit for its success goes to Herb Mack and Ann Cook, SWAP Coordinators.

Herb and Ann assisted SWAP tutees in organizing high school direct action groups which led the students out of school.

The SWAP tutees also prepared a "Handbook of Chicago School Segregation," which served as a basis for the Protest's demands.

The boycotters demanded an end to school districting which perpetuates all-Negro schools, inadequate curricula and the dismissal of School Superintendent Ben Willis.

SWAP is a comprehensive tutorial aimed at slow learners in Chicago. A self-governing unit, SWAP is advised by a tutee committee of ten, and by noted education expert Harland Randolph.

In the seven month period since SWAP began to operate, the project has become highly regarded on the Southside, because of the enthusiasm of SWAP's tutees.

This fall, SWAP is tutoring several adults in night school who are parents of SWAP tutees.

NECAP Has 1st Rights Protest in Hartford

The first civil rights demonstration in the Hartford area took place on July 12, 1963 sponsored by the North End Community Action Project, a Hartford protest group which grew out of WSM.

NECAP, as its name implies, is a community-oriented organization through which the ghetto residents take command of the attack on the conditions in Hartford's Negro and Puerto Rican slums themselves.

Over the summer, it acted on the three board fronts of the discrimination cycle: Education, Housing, and Employment.

In housing, NECAP persuaded the firm of Burke and Burke, among others, to agree to reasonable maintenance of their North End properties.

It also inspired the City of Hartford to run anti-litter and rodent campaigns, as well as to establish a complaint office in the North End slums.

NECAP realizes, however, that such projects can only succeed if the people themselves become involved.

On the employment front, NECAP sponsored actions against a Hartford cab company, restaurants, and auto mer-

NECAP Demonstrator

chants, for example.

These resulted in the hiring of at least 15 Negroes and Puerto Ricans. NECAP also effected the creation by several firms of a training program for minority-group high school seniors to qualify them for "visible" employment.

NECAP is presently investigating the Hartford schools with an eye to ending de-facto segregation. NECAP is also helping to support the large WSM tutorial.

The Central Staff

The NSM Executive Director is Bill Strickland, who graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Harvard in '58. Before receiving his M.A. in psychology this September, he served in the Marine Corps. He joined NSM in Boston this summer as an Advisor.

The City Project Coordinator is Bob Knight, who holds a B.A. from the University of Illinois. He was previously Coordinator of HEP.

The Campus Field Secretary is Julian Houston. A graduate of the Hotchkiss School, he completed a year at Boston University, where he worked with Boston NSM.

The Research Director is Sharon Jeffrey. She holds a B.A. from the University of Michigan. She first joined the Central Staff in the Spring of '63.

The City Field Secretary is Dan Schechter, who completed three years in economics at Cornell. He served as Coordinator of BAYOU.

NSM Conference

(cont. from page 1)

movement. He said NSM must be careful to inspire the future leaders which must emerge from the ghetto to evaluate society as critically as he believed NSM had.

When the conference ended, the delegates went back to their sixty colleges with, in the words of one Smith student, confidence that "the 'word' was understood; it will be spread."

Countryman at Yale

Peter Countryman, ex-director of NSM, is now back at Yale.

Peter and Joan, his wife, have their headquarters at 172 Washington Street, Middletown, Connecticut.

The Backbone of the Middletown NSM Project continues to be its eight-month old Field Secretary, John Countryman.

Staff Services

The NSM Central Office has copies of some hundred pieces of Civil Rights literature which are available, in most cases, free. Two new items are:

"Tutorials: A Strategy for Educational Reform."

"Description of Your City"-- A checklist for social action.

The Staff will also provide speakers and films for fund-raising and other activities. For Information, write NSM, 73 Morningside Drive, New York, New York.

$300 to NSM from Columbia CORE

The Columbia University chapter of CORE raised over three hundred dollars to aid the Northern Student Movement.

After hearing an address by Campus Field Secretary Julian Houston, Columbia CORE responded by organizing two civil rights rallies at which the central staff of NSM spoke.

These rallies, and a direct fund raising appeal on campus, succeeded in both getting subsistence monies for NSM and in generating much interest in its work in the ghetto.

At the time of the NSM conference at Columbia, CORE appealed to the faculty for accomodations for conference delegates and financial aid. They were very responsive and provided many beds and over $100 to show their support for NSM's vision.

Columbia CORE has also benefitted from these experiences by applying much of NSM's insight to its own programs.

Staff at D. C. Conference, Get Idea for Campus Funds

The Student Leadership Conference on Race and Religion in Washington was attended by three members of NSM's Central Staff who led workshops on tutorials on Nov. 18,19.

The response of the nearly four hundred delegates from thirty-eight states could only be termed enthusiastic.

The delegates from Princeton said that the campus Protestant office raised $25,000 for the tutorial there by sending letters to all faculty, administrators, and students.

The Conference was staffed by members of CORE, SNCC, and The National Council of Churches, as well as NSM.

Amhearst and Mount Holyoke Start Tutorial

Students at Aahearst and Mt. Holyoke have begun a tutorial in Holyoke, Mass., led by Tom Parsons, forer director of the Philadelphia Tutorial Project, who returned to Aahearst this year, and Gane Keabler of Mt. Holyoke.

Fifty tutors began working with an interracial group in Holyoke during Novaaber. They taach math, English, and Foraign Languagas.

NSM representitives attended the tutor orientation at Aahearst. Professor Gaorge Smith analaysied the town's social structure, and discussed particular problems of the thre e thousand "deprived" people in Holyoka.

Julian Houston, NSM Caapus Field Sacratary, talkad about the difficulties he expactad the tutors would be facing.

Central Staff Calls For More Researchers

(cont. from page 2)

history of past rent strikes to find out where the power structure is aost vunerable.

Even though such projects are now in progress, there is a great aaount to be done. "If you ara intarastad, please contact the Project Coordinator naarast you, or me, Sharon Jeffray."

"You aight even gat a tera paper out of it."

Freedom Schools

(cont. from page 2)

sarrisalua for Saturday Presica Schools in 15 Harlea Churches and Community Cantars. The Schools have an enrollaant of over 500 adults and children.

On result of the development of Freadom Schools has taan an announmeaant by New York's Board of Education that it would purchaas fairer text s, and would ravias its curricula to inclade Negro History.

NSM-The Reason

(cont. from page 1)

cause we felt we could do no less. It began many months and many ideas ago in the summer of 1962, when 20 Northern students originated and administered a tutorial project in Philadelphia. (There was such talk then of "the ghetto" and of "the disenfranchized". It is aore of people, now.)

NSM people are now working full time in 8 cities. NSM staff live and work in the community because they feel that only can they begin to understand what Michael Harrington has called: The Other America.

It may be that, as a nation, we do not understand it now. And until we do, I fear we will be unable really to understand the America we are now familiar with.

For we must come to see that we belong also to this "other America", and that, in some strange and unclear way, we owe it too, our allegiance.

For what is America, if it is not you and I? Paul Goodaan said it once in a book: The Society I Live IN Is Mine. If we can see this, then we can destroy all the broaides, and all the platitudes about Idealism. Idealism need not be a stage through which youth passes, but an orrientation toward life which will survive, so long as it is cherished, and held, and fought for.

We in NSM believe that the society is being underout at its aost vital level: the relationship between persons. It is not races, but persons who are involved in this problem. And it is ultimately on this level, the fundaaental level of the individual, that change auat come.

NSM is a movaaant dedicated to the future. The future of real and significant change for which our President was slain. The future that was spoken of by Aaron Henry, the freadom candidate for governor of Mississippi: "We're coming to see the day when all people who are a part of the problaa, will have to become a party to the solution, if that problaa is goiag to be solved."

Rent Strike

(cont. from page 2)

on a housing survey. He expressed a real desire to do "something" for himself and his neighbors, and with HEP's help, he organized them into the Council.

The tenants arranged a meeting with their landlord, but failed to get anything except empty promises to repair the building.

The Council voted; its members agreed to put their rents in a common fund to fix up the building instead of paying them to the absentee landlord.

The owner went to court to prevent his tenants from improving his property. But the judge only reduced the rent to one dollar-per-tenant-per-month until the violations were repaired.

There have been many results from this successful strike. Besides the fact that other groups, such as the Harlem Action Group, have been formed to sponsor similar actions, the real significance of this project is that it indicates that the NSM philosophy of community action, community-led, is workable.

HEP found a natural leader in Mr. Cherry. HEP showed him that if HEP showed him that if he focussed his leadership ability on the community, he could make a significant contribution to the Ghetto's welfare.

NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 Morningside Deive
New York 27, New York
(national office)
MO 3 0800

PROJECT OFFICES

Baltimore:	Baltimore Area Youth Opportunities Unlimited (BAYOU) 622 Aisquith Street Baltimore 2, Maryland	301 EA 7 0033
Boston:	NSM St. John's Workshop 1252 Tremont St. Boston, Massachusetts	617 445-8525
Chicago:	Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP) Student Activities Building University of Chicago Chicago 15, Illinois	MI 3 0800, x3587 ext.3587
Detroit:	Detroit Education Project (DEP) 7632 12th Street Detroit, Michigan	313 872-4688
Hartford:	NSM 91 Vine Street Hartford, Connecticut	203 522-8885
New York:	Harlem Education Project (HEP) 307 West 147th St. - third floor New York City	212 TO 2-4100, AU 3-9681 Commons
Philadelphia:	Philadelphia Tutorial Project (PTP) 31 Wiatt Hall 1830 North Park Avenue Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	215 PO 9-0335
Washington:	District Action Project (DAP) 619 G Street, S.E. Washington, D. C.	202 234-0085

******

NSM is also associated with projects in Albany, N.Y.; Akron, Ohio; Berkeley, California; Brooklyn, N.Y.; The Bronx, N.Y.; Cleveland, Ohio; Ithaca, N.Y.; Los Angeles, California; Middletown, Connecticut; New Haven, Connecticut; Newark, N.J. Pittsburgh, Pa. and San Francisco, California.

An NSM Research Center is directed by Mr. Mark Chesler at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. There are sixty-five campus groups affiliated with The Northern Student Movement.

NSM NEWS: CAMPUS SUPPLEMENT- NEWS NOTES OF THE IVY GHETTO

Although NSM was started as a campus-centered coordinating committee, its emphasis has shifted towards full-time action projects. Tevertheless, NSM Campus groups and other Northern College groups have continued active programs throughout the country. NSM's central office would like to know more about all campus civil rights activity and plans to regularly publici and distribute information about campus activity.

More and more campus fund-raising drives are beginning to divide the proceeds between SNCC and NSM to reflect increased concern about the desperate problems in the North...Dartmouth raised $110 for NSM at a folk-sing...Smith students have sparke fund-raising campaign for Danville, raised money for NSM while Governor Wallace spoke on campus, and visited NSM's Hartford project to work with NECAP on a voter registration drive..... Bennington girls recently heard NSM city project Driector Bob Knight and many plan to tutor in NSM projects during their work semesters...Cornell students are active on a number of fronts: there is student government sponsored "Disadvantaged Group Recruitment Committee," as well as special effprts by the Administration to recruit more Negro students for Cornell; a special Cornell United Religious Work committee on civil rights is publishing an excellent Civil Rights Newsletter...Cornell students are also active in an Ithaca Tutorial Project...Harpur Students are tutoring in Binghampton...Yale's Tom Roderick reports that the New Haven Tutorial is moving along with 120 tutors and a research program to analyze the dynamics of discrimination in New Haven...Graduate students at the Universit of Michigan are doing research for NSM as well as a complete evaluation of NSM's Detroit Tutorial Project...C.W. Post student have formedtthe "North Shore Committee for Civil Rights Now"... students at Alderson-Broadus College in Phillipi, West Virginia have written to NSM requesting information..... OUT WEST: tutorials are starting at Berkely, UCLA, and Stanford.

PLEASE NOTIFY THE NSM OFFICE ABOUT CAMPUS ACTIVITY. MORE COLLE NEWS WILL BE SENT OUT SOON.

Of interest to College Groups: Information on recruiting o Negro students can be had through the National Scholarship Fund and Service for Negro Students (NSFNSS) 6 East 82nd Street, New York, N.Y.

Since the civil rights problem is increasingly becoming a matter of economics, NSM recommends that all campus civil rights groups write to the Economic Research and Action Project of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 112 E. 19th St., NYC; SDS has prepared many papers about economic problems including Ray Brown's "The Crisis Economy," Ken McEldowney's "Readings in Poverty."..... Michael Harrington's The Other America is now out in a 95¢ Penguin paperback.

NSM, in cooperation with NSA and SNCC, will be sponsoring an adult literacy program in Selma, Alabama. Application Blanks will soon be available in the NSM Office.

WRITE,

"The building up of a mass of unemployed and frustrated Negro youth in congested areas of the city is a social phenomenon that may be compared to the piling of inflammable material in an empty building in a city block. Potentialities for trouble-- indeed, possibilities of disaster-- are surely there."

James Conant, SLUMS AND SUBURBS

CONFRONTING THE GHETTO:
THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT APPROACH

Northern Student Movement
73 Morningside Drive
New York 27, New York
MO 3-0800

NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT

History

The Northern Student Movement (NSM) originated at a conference sponsored by the New England Student Christian Movement (SCM) in June, 1961, when a committee was formed to investigate the possibility of creating a Northern student civil rights movement. The following October representatives from twenty colleges gathered in New Haven at the committee's invitation to adopt a structure and a general program. The movement was then publicized through the SCM and the National Student Association, and a full-time staff began operating out of offices at Yale University.

In its first year NSM worked to provide support for the Southern student movement and to develop programs relating to the Northern civil rights problems. Some $9,000 was raised and sent South for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's voter registration program. Busloads of New England college students participated in weekend sit-ins on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. A large conference dealing with discrimination and deficiencies in the areas of employment, education, housing, and politics was held in April, 1962, at Sarah Lawrence College. NSM's last action in the spring term was to send 10,000 books donated by students from eight schools to Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama.

NSM implemented four projects during the summer of 1962. In Philadelphia a group of twenty college students lived in the Negro community, held jobs and administered an educational program for high school students from the community. The program involved 175 college students voluntarily tutoring 375 high school students in local churches. A similar though smaller project was run by NSM in Harlem. In Prince Edward County, Virginia twelve college and graduate students taught school and ran recreational programs for some of the county's 1400 Negro children who have not had schools for three years. Teams of Negro and white students followed up the winter demonstrations by working in three Eastern Shore towns to build a community consciousness and an indigenous leadership among the Negroes.

In the course of this past year NSM has grown to include active groups on fifty campuses and project offices with full time student staffs in eight cities: Boston, Hartford. Harlem, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago and Detroit. In addition, students stimulated and trained by NSM have established volunteer-run projects in eight other cities. All of this represents an involvement of some four thousand college students and five thousand youth from depressed areas.

Structure

General policy for NSM is formulated by a student Executive Committee with the aid of a non-student Advisory Board and a Board of Sponsors. The Executive Committee is composed of one representative from each of the project offices and an equal number of members elected at large by representatives from the campus groups.

The Advisory Board advises both the staff and the Executive Committee, and approves the latter's formulation of a budget and employment of persons. At present this Board is composed of the Reverends William S. Coffin, Jr., Arthur Brandenburg, David Byers and Gaylord Noyce of Yale; Dr. John Maguire of Wesleyan University; Rev. Samuel Slie of the New England Student Christian Movement, Mr. Vernon Eagle, Director, New World Foundation, and Karl Linn, Director, Washington Neighborhood Commons.

The sponsors presently include Dr. Hans Spiegel, Community Tension Center, Springfield College; Dr. Robert Johnson, N.Y.U.; Dean Frederick Berthold, Dartmouth College; Dennis Clark, Catholic Interracial Council; Canon John Crocker, Brown-Pemboke; James Luther Adams, Harvard Divinity School; Rev. Leon Sullivan, Zion Baptist Church, Philadelphia; Dr. John Bennett, Union Theological Seminary; and Professor Louis Pollack, Yale Law School.

Program

The NSM program is implemented by the campus groups and city projects. The central staff serves these groups by developing techniques for local programming, compiling background materials, securing funds and professional aid, maintaining a flow of communications among the groups, and coordinating regional actions.

The campus groups work in several areas: educating college students to the race problem, recruiting Negro students for their college, collecting funds and other materials to support the work of the Southern students, and, in cooperation with community leaders, developing programs dealing with the youth in the local area, such as tutorials.

The city projects, operating now with an interracial staff of fifty fulltime people, are the main vehicle for action within NSM. Their offices are located in the lowest income areas of eight major cities and their work constitutes in many cases the only attempt being made to involve the residents of these areas in the democratic process of change.

The basis of their activity is the tutorial program operated with volunteers teaching one or two high school students in community centers and churches. Using this as a vehicle for the involvement of large numbers of socially unorganized youth, they also run a number of non-academic programs: newspapers, neighborhood renewal, art and drama classes, trips, athletic programs, etc. Finally, feeling that in order to be creative in the learning process a youth must have the opportunity to be creative with his social environment, an effort is made to involve the youth and their families in the alleviation of their community problems such as housing, employment and voter registration.

7/30/63

CONFRONTING THE GHETTO: THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 Morningside Dr., New York City, MO 3-08000

WHY — The Northern Student Movement (NSM) exists as a resohse on the part of the American student community to the institutionalized desperation, despair, and disadvantage in the North's crowded Negro ghettoes. NSM is a response to the challenge issued by men like James Baldwin and James Conant: "The building up of unemployed and frustrated Negro youth in congested areas of the city is a social phenomenon that can be compared to the piling of inflammable material in an empty building in a city block. Potentialities for trouble -indeed possibilities of disaster are surely there."

HOW — NSM has moved from a largely tutorial base to a multiplicity of programs whose interest is to enable the disenfranchised to become aware of their own power to effect change. NSM's experience has demonstrated that it is next to useless to improve an individual's skills if he still feels powerless to confront those institutions which make the decisions which govern his life. Thus, NSM will undertake a tutorial program to invovle students in a process of challenge: of values, of educational methods, and the school system. Tutees from NSM's Chicago project engineered the recent school boycott which involved over 250,000 students in a protest against de-facto inferior education. A housing survey in Harlem has led to the creation of an indigenously led action group which has won several rent strikes. All NSM programs are implemented as agencies of social change. We provide alientated citizens with the skills to effectively participate in the democratic process.

WHERE — NSM sponsors full-time projects in eight cities: Boston, Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia and Wshington, D.C. There are fifteen other projects associated with NSM and 65 colleges. Central office is now located in New York City, near Columbia University.

WHO — The city projects, operating now with a fulltime interracial staff of fifty atudents, are the main vehicle for action within NSM. NSM field staffs are usually college age people who have either finished school or dropped out temporarily to work with the movement. NSM is directed by Bill Strickland, a graduate of Harvard, and has a central staff of five. NSM's advisory board includes prominent ministers, civic leaders, and members of the academic world.

NSM's work is going on NOW. Staff workers receive subsistence salaries of $20 to $50 a week (when the money is there). Financial support has come from a number of foundations, but in order to survive, NSM depends on contributions from all who are concerned with promoting programs as well as protest to further justice. NSM welcomes help both active and financial from all who share our vision of a more equitable and participatory American democracy.

HARLEM BACK LOT TO BECOME A PARK

Volunteers Plan to Clear Rubble for Play Area

A white elephant wagon borrowed from the Department of Sanitation was parked on 147th Street between Eighth and Broadhurst Avenues for five hours Friday [illegible] hiring workers to roll from the speakers on its roof.

More than 400 persons jammed the street to celebrate the inauguration of a program to build a neighborhood commons on a rubble-strewn backyard behind the Washa tenements.

The volunteers who served soft drinks and frankfurters were from the Harlem Education Project, New York's branch of the Northern Student Movement. The project is the force behind the neighborhood commons program. The coordinator for the program is Carl C. Anthony, a 24-year-old civil rights worker from Philadelphia.

A Self-Help Project

The project is providing the impetus for the commons, but Mr. Anthony is determined that the people on the block supply everything else.

"All of their lives these people have been using their skills working for other people," he said. "We want to show them what they can do if they use their skills for themselves. Specifically, we want to show how wasted land in so-called 'slum communities' can be turned into attractive outdoor living space."

Plans for the commons include a basketball court, a shade, a junglegym, a barbecue pit and a bowling area. The city has given permission to use a city owned vacant lot as the street entrance to the area.

Project volunteers have obtained free cement, bricks, metal piping and concrete. Now they are trying to get trees.

Although the response to the project's presentation was generally enthusiastic, there were some critics.

"Sure, you can build us a nice place to sit," one man bitterly told a reporter, gesturing at a plywood demonstration model that architectural students had built. "And when we sit there we can look up and see the sky blocked out by all these filthy, stinking buildings around us."

Other men listened while the program was explained, then said that they were painters or bricklayers. "If you kids want my help, I could be around in the afternoon," one volunteered.

Most of the young children accepted the program unquestioningly, and wanted only to know when it would be finished. Mr. Anthony hopes to have the commons serviceable in late September.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 14, 1963.

COLLEGIANS HELP CURB DROPOUTS

Tutor Children in Chicago and 7 Other Cities

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, July 13—Students from 11 colleges are tutoring Chicago teen-agers who do not want to become "dropouts" or "kickouts" from school.

The 120 tutors are organized as the Student Woodlawn Area Project, or SWAP for short. They are unpaid volunteers and are concerned with a neighborhood called Woodlawn just south of the University of Chicago.

There are 120 pupils, most of them Negroes. The group includes some adults, among them a woman 27 years old who must learn fractions to hold her job.

The project reflects a growing desire among college students "to participate," a desire that is being channeled by the Northern Student Movement. This organization is active on 50 campuses, and 2,500 of its 3,000 members are tutoring high school pupils in eight cities this summer.

Ann Cook, a graduate of Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, N. Y., is in charge of the SWAP group.

"We exist," she says, "because the school system isn't doing its job."

The pupils are recruited through youth organizations and word-of-mouth advertising. Most of them ask for help in reading, writing and the use of fractions and decimals.

Fifteen pupils are taking lessons in foreign languages. They are unable to do so in school because under a classification system they are placed in the lower "tracks," where foreign languages are not taught.

A public appeal brought in 4,000 books for the project. Miss Cook said that many pupils had previously known only textbooks and hated to read. But now that they are tutored in reading for enjoyment, she said, some are "going wild and reading a book a week."

A visitor listened in while Molly Perkins of Pembroke College, Providence, R. I., tutored a 15-year-old boy. He had such difficulties as reading "was" for "were" and "back" for "black."

"Their understanding and reasoning is above their reading ability," Miss Cook said.

The pupils have their own advisory council on such things as field trips. They vetoed the standard museum visits and asked instead for trips to the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute, police headquarters, the courts and the port area.

Students from the University of Chicago, Roosevelt University, the Universities of Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa, Wilson Junior College, Barnard, Sarah Lawrence, Harvard, Bryn Mawr and Pembroke are in the SWAP program.

The Northern Student Movement has similar projects going in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Hartford, Detroit, Baltimore and Washington. The plan is to make the tutoring projects a year-around activity. The organization is operating on a $20,000 grant from the New World Foundation in New York, and grants from the Stern Foundation and the Merrill Fund of Boston. It hopes to get funds for a $125,000 annual budget.

Reprinted from

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1962.

NEGROES HELPED TO GAIN COLLEGE

Northern Student Movement Offers Tutorial Aid

By THOMAS P. RONAN

The Northern Student Movement, organized a little more than a year ago, is making a significant and rapidly expanding contribution to the solution of educational problems among minority groups in Northern communities.

Using volunteer college students as tutors, it is holding classes for high school students, most of them Negroes, in an attempt to remedy educational deficiencies and prepare as many as possible for college.

It is also trying to interest more members of minority groups in going to college and to persuade colleges to recruit them as students.

The movement began in discussions by a handful of students at a conference sponsored by the New England Student Christian movement in June, 1961.

The idea was to create a Northern student civil rights movement to fight discrimination in the North and to assist similar movements in the South.

Gathered at New Haven

In October of that year, student representatives of 20 colleges gathered at New Haven at the invitation of a committee set up at the conference to form an organization and adopt a program.

From that modest beginning the movement spread until now it has affiliated groups at 65 colleges and universities in New York, Pennsylvania and New England.

With the help of a permanent staff of three at its New Haven headquarters, the Movement acts as coordinator for these groups in their civil rights and educational activities.

Heading this staff as executive director is Peter Countryman, who was a junior at Yale when he left in November, 1961, to devote full time to the movement.

Philadelphia Project

Perhaps the most outstanding success and one that has tended to turn the movement's emphasis more and more to education was its tutorial project for high school students in Philadelphia last summer.

The movement sent 20 college students, Negroes and whites, to the city to lay the groundwork, living with the Negro community. They obtained jobs ranging from janitor to fire worker and recruited 150 college volunteers to help tutor.

Throughout July and August the tutors gave free instruction in academic subjects to 375 high school students. Two nights a week they held seminar classes in public schools, churches, agencies.

Some of the beneficiaries were white, but at least 80 per cent were Negroes.

Mr. Countryman noted recently that Negroes in Philadelphia, like those in other urban centers, are confronted with crowded schools, poor teachers, inadequate facilities "and what probably is most harmful, downshifted expectations, requirements."

The result, he said, is a high dropout rate, discipline problems and a low number, 2½ per cent, of students going to college.

The success of the project was demonstrated by the citation given it jointly by Philadelphia's Board of Education, its Commission on Higher Education and its Commission on Human Relations.

Further evidence was the extension of the work. About 350 students in the Philadelphia area are now receiving similar instruction from approximately 300 volunteer student tutors. The aim is individual instruction on a one-to-one basis.

Similar projects are being tried in Chester and Bethlehem, Pa., in Boston and Springfield, Mass., and by the College of New Rochelle in Westchester County, N. Y. The movement plans to extend this work to 15 Northern cities next summer.

In Harlem last summer, 25 volunteers tutored 75 high school students. The movement has now assigned Miss Kathy Rogers, a graduate of Sarah Lawrence, and Carl Anthony, a Negro on leave from Columbia University, as full-time workers to organize a year-round tutorial program here.

Their immediate objective is to raise funds to make the program possible. The movement thus far has covered its expenses through contributions from charitable foundations, civic groups, churches, labor unions and individuals.

During a recent visit to New York, Thomas K. Gilhool, of Scranton, Pa., chairman of the movement's executive committee and a student at the Yale Law School, said tutorial projects had proved students could do "significant and new things in helping solve educational problems in urban minority communities."

"Our aim is not only to excite the minds of youngsters and to encourage leadership in minority communities but also to introduce in a real way the students of Northern colleges to the complex problems of race and education in urban affairs," he said.

AIDES FOR EDUCATION: Peggy Dempsey, in wheelchair, a Temple University junior, tutors Dianne Bonner, a 10th grade pupil at Philadelphia's Simon Gratz High School, in Spanish. With them is Timothy Parson, area tutorial director of the Northern Student Movement, an organization of college students dedicated to aiding minority groups.

College Students Plan Expansion of Program to Tutor Negroes

By DAVID P. WELSH

A child's education, Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote, should begin at least 100 years before he is born.

Today, according to the premise of a group of tough-minded college students, many Negroes are coming into adulthood, 100 years after emancipation with a legacy of educational and human neglect.

The young leaders of the Detroit Education Project (DEP), heartened by the success of a tutorial project begun here last summer for Negro teen-agers of the inner city, are planning an expanded program to begin Nov. 1.

"We don't expect miracles," said Frank Joyce, 22, coordinator, "but we believe that college students interacting with members of a depressed society can help to bring about constructive social change. And judging by the flood of applications, it's catching on."

300 TUTORS SOUGHT

Joyce, who dropped out of college to organize the project, said DEP hopes to recruit more than 200 tutors and 500 students for its fall program.

The summer tutorial enlisted some 175 volunteer tutors of both races to work with 275 students at 14 centers in Detroit's core. Most students were enrolled in junior high and high schools, although some had dropped out.

Subjects ranged from reading skills to physics in twice-weekly, 1½-hour sessions. The ratio of tutors to students in no case exceeded one to three, Joyce said.

"A sensitive tutor," he tells recruits, "should recognize that he is not engaging in social work but acting as an agent of social change."

RACE 'HIS PROBLEM'

Tutors are expected to develop a personal relationship with pupils, getting to know their families, teachers and ministers and taking part in events of the Negro community.

"A tutor," Joyce says, "must realize he is not 'helping the poor Negro,' but that his life is bound up with that of his students, that race in America is his problem and not just an inconvenience that his tutee must overcome."

Encouraged by the summer's results, DEP is already branching out, last month with a new recreation program at Franklin Settlement House. Next year they hope to organize student-run theater groups and newspapers.

DEP's counterpart in Baltimore recently formed a drama group which was so successful that its production of "Antigone" is being filmed for television, Joyce said.

'ENTREE INTO GHETTO'

In addition, tutors are being urged to broaden the tutorial with general discussions, outside reading and field trips.

Sponsored by the Northern Student Movement, which has similar programs in seven other cities, DEP hopes to use it as an "entree into the urban ghetto."

College students, as demonstrated in other Northern cities, can be used to help organize the community with such programs as voter registration, publicizing job opportunities for youth or alleviating consumer problems.

"Our aim," Joyce says, "would be the spawning of stable, locally led units to express community needs and educate the citizenry."

GRADUATES ALSO JOBLESS

To the five staff members of DEP, these are not overly ambitious goals. The problem, they say, defies timid attempts at solution.

In one of Detroit's predominantly Negro high schools, according to an unpublished study just completed, not only were 78 percent of the school's dropouts unemployed, but 72 percent of its recent graduates as well.

DEP hopes to attack the problem from its human side, "the rejection day after day, the alienation of man from the larger society which all but destroys a man's motivation and capacity to learn."

Jones says, "we are dealing with a disenfranchised people, not in the sense that they don't have the vote but that they feel it would do them no good to vote, that they are victims of their environment rather than actors in it."

'RULE AS CATALYSTS'

"This is almost true of many college students in America. Students in other countries have played a role as catalysts of social change—but not here.

"The tutorial program is a two-way street, giving a sense of purpose to tutor and tutee alike, as both work for the changes that will make the need for a tutorial obsolete."

DEP has an $18,505 budget for the coming year, of which $10,000 is to come from a grant recently announced by the McGregor Fund for use in the tutorial program.

Contributors and new participants may reach the DEP offices at 7832 Twelfth. (872-4688).

CHICAGO 'PEACE CORPS' FILLS CLASSROOM VOID

EACH-ONE-TEACH-ONE CONCEPT AIDS POTENTIAL DROPOUTS

By BOBBIE BARBEE

Like the weather, everyone talks about the school drop-out problem. Tiring of needless talking, some youthful collegians have instituted projects in Chicago to do something about it.

In a "domestic Peace-type program" that dips into some of the most densely populated Negro sections of the city, inspired college students (mostly white) are aiming their talents and time toward bridging the educational gap that invariably confronts victims of ghetto culture.

At present three separately operated volunteer projects, with similar aims ("To overcome the need for our existence"), have started a home-grown movement to "help young citizens of 'socially isolated' areas."

Beginning their second year of operation after trial

Coordinators of the Westworth program (l-r) John McGrath, Hildred Honore, Robert Ballinger and Ed Lewis discuss plans.

runs last year are the Student Woodlawn Area Project (SWAP) in the University of Chicago area on the South Side and the Northwestern Student Tutor Project (NSTP) in the teeming Lawndale area on the West Side. A "pioneer" project was initiated in the Stateway-Wentworth Gardens public housing area in the central South Side.

Aired primarily at high school "essential" students (those regarded as slow learners) SWAP is probably the most ambitious of the three projects. Headed by Ann Cook, a University of Chicago grad student who also studied at Sarah Lawrence College, Hebrew University in Israel and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Harvard, SWAPS is operated on an informal basis with no more than two tutees (designation given those being taught) per tutor. The tutor and tutee mutually agree on the ways and means of covering a subject. (Example: a 16-year-old youth with a fourth grade reading level is aided in reading James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* because "it is more stimulating to his reading interest than a Peter Rabbit book. He is making rapid progress.)

A self-governing unit, SWAP has a tutee advisory committee composed of 10 teen-agers who help set up tours, skits, programs and "think problems" with Miss Cook and her assistant, Herb Mack. The unit also has the volunteer aid of noted educational expert Dr. Harland Randolph.

"We are not laying the blame for these children being unable to read on the school system," remarked one of the volunteer tutors, "many dedicated teachers are doing the best they can, but in a classroom of 40 students, a slow reading youngster may become discouraged when he can't keep up with the class. This is the void we are trying to fill."

The Northwestern project differs from SWAP in many areas of operation. According to Robert Holding, NSTP's director at the Sears Roebuck YMCA in the heart of the Lawndale Dist., an area jammed with 30,000 people for each square mile, the program there is more concerned with the "more responsive" 11 to 15 age group. Four

SWAP Aims At 'Essential Students' (Slow Learners)

CHICAGO 'PEACE CORPS' FILLS CLASSROOM VOID

Robert Holding (l) chats with youths attending NSTP classes; Caroline Jones of SWAP aids Kathy Jones (r) with algebra.

Ballinger checks in on group of youngsters waiting to sign up for Wentworth uplift classes being taught by IIT students.

Paul Stepan (l) of Notre Dame, helps Virginia Tolliver with spelling. SWAP's Ann Cook aids Earl Martin with reading.

Martin switches from tutee to tutor as he shows (l-r) Ann Cook, Lillian Hunter and Janet Erfring the elementary steps in pool.

Advisors (l-r) Tim Black, Herb Mack, Harland Randolph and Ann Cook hold meeting with SWAP tutors at U. of Chicago.

Some Students Have First Contact With Negroes

tutoring locations are set up in semi-classroom style in the area. The tutors have to travel nearly 25 miles from their suburban Evanston campus to conduct the sessions and generally are more formal in their tutoring than the SWAP group. This stems from the fact that most of the Northwestern students have had little or no contact with Negro youngsters.

Holding said: "At first some of the tutors are actually fascinated by the experience of getting away from their all-white, inexperienced suburban existence to get a closer, more understanding look at urban ghetto living where children have been in the street and coping with life since their diaper days."

The Wieboldt Foundation recently bestowed a grant upon the project.

The Wentworth program is just getting underway—with help from the Chicago Housing Authority. It is basically concerned with youngsters from five to 12. We think that if youngsters get started right they'll keep going in the right direction," says Robert Ballinger, a community and tenant relations aide who helped start the program, along with Housing Mgr. John J. McGrath and fellow aides Ed Lewis and Hildred Honore.

Deficient Negro Pupils Tutored by Collegians In Expanding Program

• • •

Project in Capital Aids Youths From Schools Where Many Never Finish Their Studies

By EFREM SIGEL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—In this city a Negro ghetto where overcrowded schools and housing, low family income, and disturbed home life make the problems of public schooling herculean, a group of college students is waging a quiet vacation-time struggle to raise the level of Negro education.

Known as the District Action Project (DAP) this effort gives individual tutoring to pupils from three schools—Shaw and Banneser Junior High Schools and Cardoso High School—with deficiencies in English, math, science, foreign languages, and above all, reading. Tutors and pupils, about 200 of each, meet twice weekly for an hour and a half in various church and civic centers; in addition, a series of forums on education and other community problems is planned for pupils and their families. Plans are to make the project city wide in the fall.

Tutors in the month-old effort report mixed results. Those with similar past experience do not expect any major academic breakthroughs in the course of a single summer. District of Columbia School Superintendent Carl Hansen notes: "A tutor couldn't take a really severe case of reading retardation and work it out the way a specialist would."

But the instructors report the interest their pupils display gives hope of at least raising the cultural horizons of underprivileged youths. One student tutoring a boy in English is getting him to do reading on his own, and plans trips to the library to show him how to use it. Other tutors hope to take their pupils to museums and national historical sites; for many it will be the first such contact.

If similar programs in Harlem and Philadelphia last summer are any gauge, DAP should have little trouble realizing its city-wide goal. Both the other programs have more than tripled in size since a year ago; Harlem now has 750 tutors and pupils, and Philadelphia more than 1,500.

Actually, Washington is one of 16 cities where tutorial programs are under way this summer. But the capital has the largest percentage of Negroes of any big city; of Washington's 134,000 school population, 85% are Negroes. For these reasons, and because it is a focus for civil rights agitation, Washington is considered a weather vane for the success of the tutorial movement. A Bryn Mawr College student who worked on the Philadelphia project last summer feels racial tensions there were fairly well hidden; here, she finds, the situation is "more explosive."

Undoubtedly recent civil rights agitation has given the tutorial program a mighty push. College students, long in the forefront of the civil rights struggle, are looking for meaningful ways to help Negroes gain full equality; as one girl put it: "A tutorial program can be more significant than a one-shot picket assignment."

The impetus for the District Action Project came from the Northern Student Movement, a civil rights group, with the aid of a $4,000 grant from the New World Foundation of New York. The district board of education has welcomed the effort and co-operated with the tutors; school books and pupils' records were made available to the amateur teachers, and professional teachers helped them work out lesson plans and pointed out likely problems.

Shortage of Pupils

At the outset, student enthusiasm for the project here caused an unusual problem: Enrolling tutors from the thousands of students working and studying in Washington for the summer proved so easy that DAP wound up with more teachers than pupils. The project's coordinators now are scurrying around for another 50 pupils to go with the more than 200 who have signed up so far.

According to Mrs. Betty Banks, a guidance counsellor at Shaw Junior High School, youth and enthusiasm are the tutors' biggest assets. "They have a flair for teaching young children, a way of doing things. They don't look down on the kids," she says.

What pupils need most, she feels, is respect and personal attention. In persuading her pupils to sign up for tutoring, Mrs. Banks stressed the individual nature of the instruction they would get: "For the first time a teacher is going to teach only you."

The academic mission of each individual tutorial is of secondary importance, Mrs. Banks says; the real value of the tutors is that they represent a cultural world which most of their charges have never heard of: "Not only can they teach them to read or write but they can open their eyes; the experience of meeting someone from somewhere else, from New York, may be exciting to one of these kids."

One problem that could arise is racial friction. While pupils are almost all Negro, the tutors are predominantly white. But tutors have been alerted to possible hostility, and project leaders feel that any there is will stem from the pupils' families, rather than from the youths themselves.

The educational problems which the project seeks to get at make even this difficulty insignificant, however. Overcrowding in Washington schools is a persistent headache. Shaw, with a supposed capacity of 1,167, had nearly 1,400 students this past year and expects an additional 100 next fall. Banneker was so crowded that it sent 445 students to be housed at Cardoso but was left with 115 students over its theoretical capacity of 861.

Shaw, Banneker, and Cardoso all had dropout rates way above the district average of 2.8% in 1961-62, though that figure represents primarily the low dropouts in elementary schools. At Banneker the dropout rate was 4.4%; at Shaw 7.9%; at Cardoso fully one-fifth of the students left before the school year was out.

Poor family educational background and lack of motivation often produce serious academic deficiencies among the pupils. An estimated 25% at Shaw are slow readers, rated at least two grades behind normal for their age level. The school itself is located in Washington's second precinct, described by a teacher as "the wickedest precinct in the District of Columbia, it's got the highest crime rate and the highest illegitimacy rate."

Mrs. Banks says "eight out of 10 families in this area don't subscribe to a newspaper. You don't even see papers blowing around the streets; you see candy wrappers and beer cans and wine bottles but no papers, except for an occasional copy of the (Washington) Afro-American."

Concern with these problems motivated the Urban League, an old-line Negro assistance group, to set up in this same area last March its own tutoring program, the "Future for Jimmy Program," on a somewhat smaller scale. Starting with about 100 students from Shaw, Future for Jimmy branched out into Banneker and Dunbar High School; the program now has 186 pupils and 186 tutors, including high school and college students, retired teachers, and Government workers.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL,
Monday, July 22, 1963

From the **intercollegian**

TO CLOSE A GAP IN EDUCATION

■ NORTH PHILADELPHIA ■ 85 per cent non-white . . . 80 per cent of its workers are unskilled . . . half of the families are on public assistance . . . some 60 per cent of the students do not finish secondary school . . . the average nonsenous unit consists of five adults and five children all living in an apartment of five rooms . . . 50 per cent of the fathers finished ninth grade or less . . . 2 per cent have gone to college.

Public schools in North Philadelphia stand on alien territory. They receive each year a new throng of small children who are already behind their middle-class counterparts, and the gap is quickly widened by large classes, inadequate teaching, and a consistently uncooperative environment. By the time these students reach secondary school the battle has usually been lost. The drop-out rate rises, the disciplinary problems become more intense, the curriculum requirements are forced down, and the number of potential college students dwindles.

In the summer of 1962 the Northern Student Movement, a coordinating body for college groups concerned with the race problem, sponsored a tutorial project in North Philadelphia. The concept behind the project was simple: to have college students give free tutoring to Negro secondary school students in whatever academic subjects with which they needed help. The project was conceived of as a massive pilot program to test whether college students could begin to confront some of the basic problems which beset the Negro ghettos in all our large urban centers.

NSM brought in twenty students from eighteen colleges to act as staff for the Project. They arrived in Philadelphia on June 11, and spent the next three weeks getting jobs to support themselves, learning to live together, publicizing the program, and recruiting students. They visited four high schools, fifteen churches, youth groups, newspapers, and radio stations. The last week in June was spent in frenzied matching of tutors and "tutees" (as the pupils were called) and placing these "tutoring situations" in one of the churches or social agencies which had volunteered to serve as tutorial centers. Books were borrowed from the Board of Education, a suburban high school, and the Salvation Army. Through a grant from a Philadelphia foundation, a guidance counselor from a North Philadelphia high school was hired to advise the tutors and help the Project staff interpret the program to the community.

The tutoring began on July 2 with 175 tutors and 375 pupils in 19 centers. Each tutoring situation met twice a week for two hours in the evening. About 80 per cent of the *tutees* and one-third of the tutors were Negro. All high school academic subjects were offered. Each member of the Project staff served as the head of one of the tutorial centers which became a unit both for discussions of their problems among the tutors and for extra-curricular activities. Biweekly seminars dealing with the various aspects of the northern civil rights problems as they focused on the "unmotivated" Negro youngster were held for the tutors. A method of evaluation of changes in the attitudes of the *tutees* was set up with the help of a faculty member at Temple University.

Without standardized testing, it will always be difficult to measure the results of such a program. Nevertheless, several indications of at least partial success stand out. Motivation among the *tutees* was extremely high, even though a good proportion had definite academic difficulties. In a few cases there were radical changes in attitude toward the particular subject and education in general. The amount of work done voluntarily was surprising and indicated a tremendous willingness on the part of the *tutees* to learn, if given the chance. All the *tutees* were eager to participate in a winter program.

The tutors, for the most part, found the teaching difficult but intriguing, and constantly expressed amazement at the poor academic backgrounds of their pupils. For many of the tutors it was as educational an experience as it was for their *tutees*, with an introduction to the urban slum area and a very intense involvement in the educational and social problems of urban Negro youth.

Stimulated by the enthusiasm of *tutees* and tutors, NSM decided to continue the Philadelphia project through the academic year. A full-time staff of students was hired and foundation grants were secured to provide financial support. A similar though smaller tutorial run during the summer in Harlem (New York City) was also extended with a student staff. Since September the NSM central office in New Haven has publicized the tutorial programs to campuses throughout the East and there are now some 2,500 students from such colleges as Clark, Emmanuel, Yale, Trinity, Bates, Lehigh, Boston College, Cornell, Harpur, Swarthmore, and Manhattanville working with 3,500 secondary school students.

Over the past year we have come to understand more fully both the potential and the limitations of the tutorial program. This understanding is based to a good extent on the awesome absurdity of the race problem. The American Negro has been forced to play for the past

three hundred years the role of the subordinate, of the second-class citizen. For the millions of economically depressed blacks in our urban areas little progress has been made in that time. Their lives have been partially shaped, through the experiences of relatives or parents, by the physical uncertainty of black life in the South: the swift violence or continuing economic and political slavery by which the white man asserts his supremacy. This exists today, one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, as, for instance, thousands of unemployed Negroes are being cut off from a federal relief food program by officials in some Mississippi counties because a few have tried to vote.

America has not done much better by the northern Negroes. Coming to the large cities with little education or job training—their southern heritage—they have encountered an impersonal but nevertheless efficient system of employment and housing discrimination. Packed, therefore, into low income ghettos, they have sent their children to poor and crowded schools, only to see them facing the same discrimination and little better trained to compete with their middle-class counterparts. It is a vicious cycle—and for generations of blacks in Harlem, Roxbury, South Chicago, an inescapable one.

The frustration of the northern Negroes is intensified by the fact that they are constantly told that they are "free." No laws restrain them; equality is preached everywhere; they are taught through the mass media and in the schools that this is a democratic society. Yet everywhere around them they see blacks living in the worst slums and holding the bottom jobs, and on every billboard, in every newspaper, they see whites who are the symbol of success in our culture. Beyond that they know Africans are throwing off the chains of colonialism, that there is no more racial discrimination in Cuba, that the southern Negro students have successfully fought the system, but nothing has changed in the northern ghetto—except perhaps that it is larger.

The psychological products of this situation are a deep sense of hopelessness and a bitter distrust of the white man. Wanting desperately to gain some sort of acceptance from society, the depressed Negro rejects himself because he is black and rejects the white man because the white man has so limited his life. It is out of this conflict that black nationalism has grown as an attempt to affirm both pride in one's color and the independence of the black man from white America. Black nationalism is growing rapidly; it encompasses not only the Black Muslims and the 45 other nationalist sects in Harlem, but increasingly black ministers, black businessmen, black artists. It should be apparent that unless whites meet honestly the heightened sense of dignity which black nationalism represents, black nationalism and white racism will begin to clash in ever more violent ways.

All of this has definite implications for the tutorial program. It means first of all that education is not the basic problem. More importantly, the process of alienation of the black child from himself and from his society must be reversed. Somehow the adolescent must be given the opportunity to contribute creatively to a reform of his community and his society and thereby begin to see himself as a valuable person, regardless of color.

NSM is developing a number of programs aimed in this direction. The New York staff has initiated a newspaper which is completely run by Harlem students and deals primarily with the social problems of Harlem, with Negro history, and with the activities of the students themselves. In Philadelphia, we are working with a landscape architect helping students and adults turn depressed areas into neighborhood commons. In Hartford, college and high school students are going from door to door explaining the housing code and how people can legally obtain better living conditions. In New Haven, students have established a Children's Theater where grade-school children can learn drama and give performances.

The second implication has primary significance for the white student. He, too, lives in a society where democracy is preached but not practiced, where racism is but one symptom of a deeper distortion of values which manifests itself in everything from machine politics to the hypocrisy of international policies. It is his society which is heading toward the chaos of nuclear war; it is his life which finally will be limited by the domestic chaos of violent racial conflicts.

NSM is attempting to educate large numbers of white students, not to the problems of the Negro ghetto so much as to the inadequacies in their own culture which have created and maintained that ghetto. We are presenting students not with a threat but with a challenge—a challenge to seriously confront the values of their own culture in the light of what is happening in the world, and to emerge from that confrontation with new mores and institutions which are truly sensitive to human problems. There is a good deal of urgency in our challenge, for it is no longer a question of social action or Christian duty—it is a question of the decency of millions of human lives, ours included. ■

By PETER J. COUNTRYMAN

Callegians Jain Equality Battle, Tutoring 200 Harlem Yauths

Six young people with a social conscience are working overtime in the fight for racial equality. As full time staff workers in the Harlem Educational Project, they supervise the tutoring of about 200 Negro high school students in the central Harlem area for $50 a week (when they get paid.)

"What we're trying to do is combine the educational pattern in the street with the educational pattern of the schools," says Kathy Rogers, sandal-clad Sarah Lawrence graduate ('62) and head of the tutorial phase of the project.

Financed by Grants

Financed by a $10,000 grant from the Marshall Field Foundation and $3000 from a private donor, HEP is a branch of the Northern Student Movement, an organization of northern college students dedicated to the fight for racial equality.

The six HEP staff members, operating from their rented office on 8th Ave. between 136th and 137th St., work with more than 150 college students from the New York area who have volunteered to tutor 200 Harlem junior and high school students. Each tutor meets individually with one or two students for two evening sessions each week.

The sessions give students the chance to improve low grades in school or to explore any subjects of special interest. And a general discussion follows each tutoring session.

"We talk about anything—the South, relations between black and white, job opportunities, any subject they want to know about," Kathy says.

Playgrounds Planned

Carl Anthony, 23, who left Columbia to work for HEP, heads another phase of the project called Neighborhood Commons.

"There are 82 lots lying around the Harlem area which nobody uses for anything," Carl says. "We want to convince the people in these neighborhoods that they can use them for something of value."

So far the HEP workers have leased two lots from the city with the cooperation of the City Planning Commission and hope to redesign the lots at 147th St. between Bradhurst and 8th Ave., and 115th St. between 7th and 8th Ave.—as playgrounds.

Personal Contacts

Much of HEP's value comes from personal contact rather than organized programs. Roger Seigel, 21, a shaggy haired, affable, "off and on" student, spends hours "just sitting on the stoop. Everybody sits on the stoop in Harlem. That's how I work, just by talking to people."

Roger has become a familiar figure in Harlem. Little children, hardened hustlers, restaurant owners — they all talk to him, or greet him with a smile, perhaps because they feel his involvement with them.

"Income is not important at all now," he says. "I eat, breathe and sleep my job. In working with these people, I have found a whole new intensity of life."

Reprinted from

New York World Telegram and Sun

June 20, 1963

REPRINTED FROM TIME MAGAZINE MAY 17, 1965

Down-to-Earth Idealism

Northern collegians have in recent years gone South on freedom rides, tried to integrate Louisiana lunch counters, been shot at for helping Negro voter registration in Georgia. Out of such idealistic activism, so strikingly missing in the apathetic '50s, has come a more down-to-earth student project. The newest task is tutoring thousands of Northern Negro children who lack the skill or the incentive to keep up in school. A timely push from a collegian can change their lives and the tutor's as well.

Such is the aim of the Northern Student Movement, a loose-knit, Yale-based fraternity of 2,200 collegians at 20 campuses, from M.I.T. to Oberlin to Swarthmore. They give several nights a week to tutoring about 3,500 Negro youngsters in cities all over the Northeast. Results have been undramatically good. In Philadelphia, a survey of 200 kids showed 50% of them doing "a little better" in school and 41% doing "much better." In Hartford, Conn., 11-year old Pearley-Mae Sampson has lifted her average from C to B under the guidance of Trinity College Senior Henry Whitney, 21. In Harlem, Tutor Carl Anthony took a seventh-grader with third-grade reading ability and in two weeks helped her to get 90 on a seventh-grade spelling test. Step by step, the kids are getting with it.

Countryman & Co. The main force behind N.S.M. is its paid ($10 a week) director, Peter Countryman, an intense Chicagoan of 21 who normally would have been a senior at Yale this year. Countryman got started by Southern Negro students in 1961, began to see the academic world as "pretty sterile." Cutting classes, Countryman in two weeks collected 6,000 books for a hard-pressed Negro college in Virginia, wound up spearheading a Northern campus fund drive for sit-ins. He dropped out of Yale to run N.S.M. because "I felt a call to do it."

Last summer Countryman & Co. set up classes for the school-less Negro youngsters of Virginia's Prince Edward County, and also tackled North Philadelphia, where the high school dropout rate is 60% and only 26% of the kids get to college. N.S.M. recruited 175 tutors (including about 70 Negroes) at colleges from Amherst to Sarah Lawrence, put them to work with 375 youngsters for four hours a week all summer. One by-product: Countryman's marriage to Tutor Joan Cassaday, a Negro Sarah Lawrence graduate and daughter of a Philadelphia high school guidance counselor.

Building Confidence. In Hartford this year, N.S.M.'s 100 tutors from Trinity and other colleges have worked with 300 kids in evening sessions at three high schools. Hartford Seminary Student Peter Morrill, 22, who says that "this is the only way to actualize the things in the Bible," set up a shabby N.S.M. office in Hartford's heavily Negro North End. Going beyond tutoring, Morrill and 25 co-workers get people to the polls and campaign against rent gouging. "We're showing these people they have a chance," says Joe Norman, 18, a Negro student at the Hartford Art School.

Countryman, who is duly wary of white Lady Bountifulness, is now searching for a Negro to take over his job. He plans to return to Yale next fall, aims to leave fulltime N.S.M. offices running in Boston, Hartford, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington and Chicago. His summer agenda is to muster 2,200 collegians to tutor 4,000 high school students. To foot the bill, he has $30,000 from foundations and a Philadelphia drug house. N.S.M. clearly can make only a dent in the great mass of Negro slum kids who consider education strictly square, but it has started something worth doing well.

Baltimore American

THE BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN, JUNE 22, 1963

By WALTER R. DEAN

The Northern Student Movement, which has achieved remarkable results in such places as Harlem and Philadelphia, this week opened a tutorial service here for high school students.

The service is located at 622 Aisquith St. and is called Baltimore Youth Opportunities Unlimited (BAYOU). Area college students are being recruited to serve as tutors.

Already some 300 Dunbar High School students have requested tutorial help from the seven staff members who will man the East Baltimore office.

• • •

THE IDEA of the tutorial service is to do more than to merely correct, in a casual manner, a student's deficiencies in his classroom work.

NSM is concerned about the student's attitudes toward education and his social and ethical values.

In a sense NSM feels that much academic learning is sterile, divorced irrelevant to what is actually happening in the streets.

"We are not a service organization," said staffer Dan Schechter, 21, a labor relations major at Cornell University. "We are an agency for social change."

Mr. Schechter is one of the seven college students who will man the Aisquith Street Office.

• • •

THE **NORTHERN** Student Movement is a different kind of organization.

Its staff members of NSM would rather not call it an organization (at best it is a loose affiliate of associate groups) because the word "organization" has certain overtones of stiffness and bureaucracy.

Rather NSM is a "mission" to do more than to survey social ills.

Its mission is to establish new values and to instill in people who live in depressed areas a new sense of social, economic and political awareness.

Actually, NSM is an outgrowth of the sit-ins and freedom rides which peppered the South. Instead of concentrating on the dramatic aspects of the racial fight, NSM decided to combat the special and peculiar problems associated with black ghettos in the urban North.

• • •

ALL THE problems were not the blatant problems of overt lunch counter segregation, but the subtle and unspectacular discriminations in employment, housing and education.

Also, NSM recognized the depressive problems of alienation, the feeling of aloneness, within the confines of crowded cities.

The primary task of NSM is the development of what is termed "indigenous" leadership and self-concern in the people who live in the districts.

"We don't want to take over any area and say that we are the leaders here," said Clifton Henry, 24, an energetic Baltimorean who is co-director of NSM's national education project.

• • •

NSM HAS branches, similar to the one in Baltimore, in seven other cities and associates in nine other urban areas.

Mr. Henry said that some 2,000 college students were tutoring 3,000 high school students in eight cities and on 22 college campuses.

He also stated that at least 35 colleges were affiliated with NSM's tutoring program.

Ideally, NSM wants one tutor for one "tutee." Tutee was coined during a highly successful pilot program in Philadelphia.

Already the Baltimore branch needs at least 200 tutors.

• • •

PETER COUNTRYMAN, a junior philosophy major at Yale, organized NSM in October, 1961.

The movement began in discussions by a few students who wanted to create a Northern student civil rights movement to fight discrimination in the North.

In November, 1961, Mr. Countryman left Yale to devote full time to the movement as its executive director.

The most outstanding success of NSM is its Philadelphia project, which helped to turn the movement more toward education and tutoring.

Last summer 20 students went into the Philadelphia community, gave free tutoring service to 375 high school students.

The service grew to the point volunteer tutors gave instruction to 350 students.

• • •

FOR ITS pioneering work the group was cited jointly by Philadelphia's Board of Education, its commission on Higher Education and its Commission on Human Relations.

Currently the program is operating in Baltimore, Washington, New York City, Philadelphia, Hartford, Conn.; and Boston, with affiliates in Wilmington, Newark, N.J.; Trenton, Yonkers, Cleveland, Akron, Albany, Los Angeles and Pittsburgh.

The students who form the backbone of NSM are essentially idealists who feel that they can change human behavior and ultimately society.

Theirs is a fierce idealism, but it is a practical idealism which is wary of the pitfalls and disappointments associated with any attempt to rehabilitate slum-dwellers.

• • •

"WE LOOK upon our program as a challenge to society and the school system," said Mr. Schechter.

"We want to make the students aware of the opportunities around them," said Miss Stevens.

Speaking of the problems of education, Miss Stevens said that often there is no correlation between what is taught in the schools and the society in which the students are living.

"People have to question themselves and their environment," said Mr. Schechter. "Students and our whole society need to re-think its assumptions and values.

Mr. Schechter, Miss Stevens and the other NSM staffers believe that one way of fighting alienation and the de-personalization of urban areas and in particular the slums, is to give the inhabitants a sense of purpose, a feeling that they are individuals who can, through their own actions, change or modify their environment and condition.

• • •

MR. HENRY said that in addition to the tutorial programs, NSM will establish discussion groups and perhaps a teen-age night club which would be run by the neighborhood teen-agers.

"The lessons of the South teach the power of the students' ability to create (social) changes," said Mr. Henry. "I believe that much of the fatalism which exists in our society is because the average person is not aware of his own potential to create change in society."

THE TASK facing the students is immense.

Besides the aforementioned projects the students hope to stabilize the neighborhoods, get people to fix up their homes, to register and vote and to read newspapers.

"Actually," said one member of the project, "we realize that this project is a long - term one, one involving years of work."

The students must show sufficient progress in a 12-week period in order that they may get another foundation grant to continue the project on a year - round basis.

Money, or the lack of it, is a real and basic problem.

Presently the local branch for BAYOU is part of a tri-city (Baltimore, Washington, Hartford), summer project which is financed by a $20,000 grant from the New World Foundation, of New York.

• • •

THE EVENING SUN

Published Every Weekday By
THE A. S. ABELL COMPANY
WILLIAM P. SCHMICK, JR., PRESIDENT

Editorial Offices
Baltimore 3 ..... Calvert Street
Washington 4 ..... [illegible]
Madison, N.J. 6 ..... 66 Pixel Street
Mexico ..... [illegible]
Moscow ..... Sadovaya, Samotechnaya 13/24
Rome ..... Via del Plebiscito 112
New Delhi ..... 101 Golf Links
Rio de Janeiro ..... Rua Do Carmo 37
Baltimore Telephone—[illegible]

Mail Rates Outside of Baltimore

	Morning	Evening	Sunday
1 month	$1.00	$1.00	$1.00
6 months	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1 year	$15.60	$15.60	$10.30

Member of the Associated Press
The Associated Press is entitled exclusively to the republication of all the local news printed in this newspaper as well as all AP dispatches.

THE SUN, BALTIMORE, WEDNESDAY MORNING, JULY 10, 1963

TUTORING GROUP—Miss Katharine LeBoutillier, an 18-year-old Wells College sophomore, meets three summer pupils in Northern Student Movement project. The pupils are, from left, Evelyn Knox, 16, Carl Turnipseed, 18, and Hannah Jefferson, 17.

RIGHTS UNIT USES QUIET APPROACH

Tutoring By Volunteers Benefits Community

By ADAM CLYMER

A civil rights group with a quiet approach began a major project in Baltimore last night when it brought together about 100 Negro high school students and 75 college student tutors in an original sort of summer school.

The pupils were at the parish house of St. Francis Xavier Church because they needed help with high school subjects. "This tutoring sounded pretty interesting when I heard about it, but when I got my report card, that decided me," said Emanuel Montgomery, 14, a Dunbar High School sophomore who lives at 1301 North Bond street.

The tutors—volunteers from local high schools and students home from college for the summer—were there because it was something immediate they could do about civil rights. "I feel very strongly about the race question. This is something I can do, a beginning," said Miss Anita Peterson, 18, a Goucher College sophomore who lives at 828 West University parkway.

The group that brought them together is the Northern Student Movement, and its motives are Miss Peterson's. Its local headquarters are a vacant store at 822 Aisquith street, and its eight $50-a-week staff members (only two are Marylanders) are here for the summer.

Aims Of Group

Daniel Schechter, a 21-year-old project worker from New York and Cornell University, frankly admits that the group's methods are "conservative." Along with the tutoring, the team has already begun work in dramatics, in putting out a newspaper, and in helping neighborhood teenagers look into some neighborhood problems.

"We are trying to make the kids aware of themselves," Mr. Schechter said, "trying to instill within them the idea they can really change things if they try."

One current target for change by the community action committee is a simple but persistent neighborhood problem — smelly, fly-breeding ice drippings from a chicken factory that collect on Aisquith street because there is no drain to catch them.

The students, with the help of the project staff, are looking around the city government for a place where something can be done about it.

The project, financed by a foundation grant, leans heavily on volunteers. The tutors, drawn from area colleges and including students from out-of-State schools home for vacation, are the largest bunch, but the individual volunteer with the biggest job is probably Vaughan Burter, a 30-year-old ex-worker for the Department of Public Welfare, who serves as drama coach.

These Also Serve

A group of student volunteers tutoring Negro high-school students in East Baltimore this summer should remind the community that more is involved in the improvement of race relations than getting arrested in Gwynn Oak or earning battle scars at Cambridge. Demonstrations provide a vital, and up to a point useful, method of breaking the shackles of segregation. But the ending of discrimination is only a part of the problem.

Equally important in the long run is the demanding task of helping Negroes who are still paying the social price of living in substandard ghettoes and studying in overcrowded and understaffed schools overcome these handicaps. While this will not in itself open public facilities to Negroes entitled to use them, it will assist those who are willing but not entirely able to do the job alone to prepare themselves to compete on an equal footing with whites.

The group of 75 high school and college students in East Baltimore is going about this task in a constructive way. Working for the summer at less than a laborer's pay, they are tutoring eager Negro pupils and showing residents of one of the city's less desirable neighborhoods how to improve their lot.

There is a danger that a record of arrest in a racial demonstration may become a sort of status symbol among certain white liberals. We say nothing against that form of activity. A display of interracial unity on the question of desegregation aids a good cause. But there are many in the white community whose talents would better serve the goal of racial betterment in less glamorous roles. Some of these roles may not catch headlines as this tutoring job does. But it is good to know that this long-range effort is not being overlooked.

GLENN RUH, 25, left, who will teach English in the city's public high schools in the fall, is mapping a program to help Lance Ambrose, 13, with his English grammar. Mr. Ruh is a volunteer tutor.

NSM
73 Morningside Dr.
New York, New York 10027

Mr. Harold Gibbons
International Brotherhood
of Teamsters
25 LOUISIANA AVE.,
N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 5, 1963

Dr. John A. Hannah, Chairman
Civil Rights Commission
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Hannah:

Since the Civil Rights Commission is engaged in a continuing study of federal programs in the area of promoting racial equality and equal employment opportunities, I wish to call to your attention a situation which I believe will be of interest to the Commission.

As you are aware, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has promoted a program of "Plans for Fair Practices for Unions." Under this program, approximately 117 affiliates of the AFL-CIO have formally entered into such Plans. While the records of the Commission may indicate that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America has not entered into such a Plan, I am enclosing a brochure of correspondence between General President Hoffa and the President's Committee which will indicate the Teamsters' continuing effort to enter into a Plan, as well as the position of the President's Committee with respect to the Teamsters' requests. These letters are being submitted so that the records and reports of the Civil Rights Commission will properly reflect the position of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with respect to the Plans for Fair Practices.

Very truly yours,

Harold J. Gibbons
Executive Vice-President

HJG/eh
Enclosure

Office of the General President

To:

From: Mr. English

H. J. Gibbons

Re: Catholic Interracial Council Tribute Dinner

This will authorize purchase of 5 tickets in the amount of $500.00 to the Tribute Dinner honoring Thomas J. Deegan, Albert M. Greenfield, and A. Philip Randolph as per the attached communication.

Please forward tickets to me when they arrive.

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yk

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x Civil Rights
x Catholic Interracial
DATE Council

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Johnson Publishing Co.
Van Alstine, Bill

November 4, 1963

Mr. Bill Van Alstine
Johnson Publishing Co., Inc.
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. Van Alstine:

Concerning your request for information on the Negro membership in the Teamsters' Union, I regret that I am unable to provide you with said information. Our local unions do not maintain records by race, color or creed and, therefore, it is impossible for me to answer your request.

On a broad scale, however, it has been estimated that approximately 200,000 Teamster members are Negroes.

Very truly yours,

Roy Barnes, Research

RB/le

JOHNSON PUBLISHING CO., INC.
1820 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 16, ILL.

BOOK DIVISION

CALUMET 5-1000

Mr. Abraham Weiss
Research Director
International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Oct. 18/1963

Dear Mr. Weiss :

Johnson Publishing Company would genuinely appreciate the aid of your office in the collection of important material for use in the 1963 Negro Yearbook.

Further, an increase in news releases pertaining to Negro participation in your union would be welcomed, enabling just coverage.

Please send the latest statistics on Negro membership in each local union which corresponds to the attached list of cities.

If actual tabulations have not been made, educated estimates by reliable sources are suggested.

We would appreciate having the information by December 3rd, 1963.

Thank you for your consideration.

Respectfully,

Bill Van Alstine

GENERAL ARCHIVES
OCT 21 9 10 AM 1963
RECEIVED

JOHNSON PUBLISHING CO., INC.
1820 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 16, ILL.

BOOK DIVISION CALUMET 8-1000

NEGRO YEARBOOK - 1963
LABOR UNION INFORMATION
METROPOLITAN LOCAL COVERAGE

Atlanta
Birmingham
Montgomery
Los Angeles
Compton
San Francisco
Berkeley
Oakland
Miami
Jacksonville
Orlando
Tampa
Columbus, Georgia
Macon
Savannah
Chicago
East St. Louis, Ill.
Indianapolis
Gary, Indiana
Louisville
Baton Rouge
Baltimore
Washington, D. C.
Boston
Detroit
Jackson
St. Louis
Kansas City, Missouri
Camden
Newark
Jersey City
Paterson
Trenton
New York City
Buffalo
Rochester
Charlotte
Winston-Salem
Durham
Akron
Cincinnati
Cleveland
Cleveland
Dayton
Youngstown
Toledo
Oklahoma City
Tulsa
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
Columbia, S. C.
Charleston
Knoxville
Chattanooga
Memphis
Nashville
Dallas
Ft. Worth
Houston
Beaumont
Galveston
Richmond
Milwaukee
Seattle

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE ✓ 3/19
Civil Rights
x Turner Irvine I.
x L 478
x Clic

IRVINE I. TURNER
COUNCILMAN
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

the 11th Inst - '63

Dear Mr. Hoffa:-

this is just to make it strictly personal: I enjoyed talking with you at length several weeks ago at the dinner in the Casey House. I was glad to learn of the warmth and congeniality in you. You are a great leader of the working men & women. I hope you much luck, always.

During our little confab we discussed the possibility of the much needed Civil Rights Committee for the Teamsters. It was during the discussion on this topic that you and Mr. Provenzano agreed on setting up such a Committee at Paterson and I recall that since you were, Mr. Jack Hicks who was with me

IRVING I. TURNER
COUNCILMAN
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

and I were to be named by you and Mr. Provensano to head the committee, but, thus far you have been very busy and unable to attend to this most important function.

I am again thanking you, and with kindest personal regards to you and yours, I remain,

Sincerely Yours

Irving I. Turner
613 High St
City

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Turner, Irvine
X 8478

October 31, 1963

Mr. Anthony Provenzano, Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
707 Summit
Union City, New Jersey

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter from Irvine Turner, which is self-explanatory.

Would you kindly let me have your comments on this matter.

Fraternally yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH/yh

IRVINE I. TURNER
COUNCILMAN
NEWARK, N.J.

FRED S. GAY, M.D.
FOUNDER

EMMA VON G. GAY, M.D.
DIRECTOR AND CONSULTANT

F. DUDLEY JONES, M.D.
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

W. W. COX, M.D.
ASSOCIATE

THE GAY CLINIC
WEST BEACH AT BRIARFIELD AVE.
BILOXI, MISSISSIPPI
IDLEWOOD 2-2677

IRVINE I. TURNERS ASSOCIATION
173 BELMONT AVENUE
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

Officers:

MR. JACK HICKS
President

MRS. JOHNNIE JOHNSON
First Vice President

ARTHUR LOVE
Second Vice President

MR. JAMES PITTS
Third Vice President

MR. TIMOTHY STILL
Executive Secretary

MRS. ESTA MAE WILLIAMS
Recording Secretary

MRS. GENEVIEVE THREADGILL
Corresponding Secretary

MRS. ANNA M. HALL
Financial Secretary

MRS. ESTELLA LOVE
Treasurer

REV. ALBERT ESNTON
REV. HENRY PITTS
Chaplains

TINY PRINCE
Publicity Manager

NORMAN COGMAN
Sergeant-at-arms

Trustees:

MRS. ROSE TURNER
MRS. ANNA MAE HALL
MR. EDDIE BRYANT
MR. GEORGE EDWARDS

October 30, 1963

Mr. James R. Hoffa, President
International Brotherhood Of Teamsters
chauffers, Warehousemen, Helpers of America
25 Lousiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington, 1, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoffa:-

Thank you from the bottom of my heart for your kindness and consideration for so many of our underprivilaged people who will benefit with their oppressed families Christmas. I have been like a chicken with its head cut off, running from one section of our country to the other, with my ill wife trying to find relief for her illness. She suffered one of the most terrifying cases of bronchial asthma but we were lucky to learn of the "GAY CLINIC" located at West Beach at Briarfield Avenue, Biloxi, Mississippi. Believe me when I assure you that they have done a marvelous job on my wife and, she hasn't had an attack for several weeks. Prior to this, she had attack after attack in first one hospital then the other. Ten times she was hospitalized for from four to five weeks each time. This is why I am thankful to God for his blessings and for allowing me to live through it all and, again, I am thankful to you for your benevolence which we shall never forget because you came through in our behalf with a smile. Thank you again.

Mr. Hoffa, my mind is poignantly resurged of the lengthy discussion you had with Mr. Jack Hicks, a member of 478 local, Teamsters, who is the steward at John Englehorn Meat Packers for the past 18 years and me. You pointed out to us the dire necessity of a Civil Rights division which you anticipated for Teamsters and, you also made it clear that you would be glad to set up such a body within the confines of Teamsters and, in view of the fact that I was the first Negro to be appointed to such a body as its executive Secretary back in 1941, you would designate Mr. H icks and me to run the offices. let me also remind you that Mr. Tony Pro also was in agreement with us on this matter because Mr. Pro saw us with his eyes as we stayed on the scene throughout his election at Union City last year. I would like to learn first hand from you, whether or not you intend to put your idea to actual reality. I am anxious to do anything possible to assist you. I am now once more in solicitation of your reply.

With warmest personal regards for you and to you, and yours I am

Sincerely,
Irvine I. Turner
Irvine I. Turner
613 High Street
Newark, N.J.
Ma-4 -5820

PS
Will you kindly reply and direct same to my personal address so as to be sure I receive your letter?
Again, I am thankful and grateful. It was as manner from heaven to my people and, We shall have a big Xmas.

File per H gb 10/8/63

RECEIVED
OCT 9 11 22 AM 1963

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X National Council of
Negro Women
X Height, Dorothy I.
X Contributions

WU TLX WSH

IBOFTDC WSH

TLX PD WASHINGTON DC OCTOBER 8, 1963

MISS DOROTHY I. HEIGHT
NATIONAL PRESIDENT
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
1318 VERMONT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

REGRET HEAVY TRAVEL SCHEDULE OF PRESIDENT HOFFA PREVENTS ANY OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE YOU AN APPOINTMENT WITH HIM.

H. J. GIBBONS
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE GENERAL PRESIDENT

WU TLX WSH

IBOFTDC WSH

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax

SENDING BLANK

CALL LETTERS MDV 10/8/63 CHARGE TO Int. Bro. of Teamsters

Miss Dorothy I. Height
National President
National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Regret haavy travel schedule of President Hoffa prevents any opportunity to give you an appointment with him.

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1269—(8-55)

WESTERN UNION

LLA023 NA026

(LL) OL PD WASHINGTON DC 7 232A EDT

JAMES B HOFFA, INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS UNION
25 LOUISIANA AVE NORTHWEST WASHDC

AT A TIME WHEN THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN IS DEEPLY INVOLVED IN STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH URGENT DEMAND FOR RENOVATION AND RESTORATION OF OUR NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS AND EDUCATIONAL CENTER AT 1318 VERMONT AVENUE NORTHWEST THIS MAKES CRITICAL OUR NEED FOR FACILITIES AND EXPANDED SERVICES REQUIRING IMMEDIATE FUNDS ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN REPRESENTING WOMEN IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE. I AM REQUESTING YOUR CONSIDERATION AND ASSISTANCE YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THE URGENCY AND IMPORTANCE OF OUR SITUATION WITH YOUR INTEREST AND SUPPORT A LASTING CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF WOMANHOOD WILL BE MADE AND FOREVER APPRECIATED. I CAN BE REACHED AT COLUMBIA 5-[illegible] AND WOULD HOPE FOR THE PRIVILEGE

Telefax . WESTERN UNION Telefax

OF A CONFERENCE WITH YOU
DOROTHY I HEIGHT NATIONAL PRESIDENT.

'83 OCT 7 AM

1270W (1 81)

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Stovall, James
X

5 October

Mr Jases Hoffer
Pres.of International Teamster
Washington,D.C

My Dear Mr Hoffa:

I am protest the racial bias practiced
betwine,union and companies in the bay area.
they have a way tell you that we cant take you
in the union unless you have a job and the
companies tell yow that we cant give you
a job unless you are in the union.
I will appreciate your looking into
this matter as your earliest convenance.

Sincerely yours,

James Stovall

X _____

September 12, 1963

Mr. Sol Neumen
116 Putnam Avenue
Hemden, Connecticut

Deer Sir end Brother:

I wholeheertedly concur with your views es set forth in your letter of September 10th. Not only do I concur, but I think it might be interesting to you to know thet our union has won more electicns in the South then ell of the rest of the labor movement combined.

Despite the greet expense end hardship entelled in orgeileing in the South we sheil continue end eccelerete our efforts in that direction

Thank you very kindly for writing.

Fretemelly yours,

James R. Hoffe
General President

JRH/mc

Sol Newman
116 Putnam Avenue
Hamden, Connecticut 06517

Tuesday, 10 September 1963

Dear Sir & Brother:

In the light of the Justice Department's continued persecution of you, may I presume to think that the late Edward F. Cheyfitz (whom I met in passing when we were founding members of the CIO) would have seen in the current civil rights struggles a God given opportunity to do something constructive about your public image?

Might I presume, too, sir, that if you are of the opinion that nothing need be done about it, that you shall choose to read no further?

Briefly, my thought is this: Why should not the Teamsters Union take a note out of John L. Lewis's book and join with the leaders of today's struggle for civil rights to rout the open shop down South?

Given the verve of the youngsters in and out of school who have set this nation on its ear since Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. initiated the bus boycott in Montgomery and the trade union know how and muscle of the Teamsters--well, sir, once these young men and women were convinced of the need--and what a boon for the nation, for all labor that would be--the pledge cards would surely fly.

To buttress the above, need I ask what can the labor movement possibly be more in need of than just such a boot in the can? Not to speak of the forthcoming presidential election, sir, in the course of which I even presume to think you might well win vindication.

Only provided that following now hard upon last month's historic demonstration before the Lincoln memorial, you persuade Messrs. Randolph and King et al that this is indeed the next step and that hand in hand with them you get the job done.

Parenthetically, if the job isn't done, I fear the present struggles may boomerang against Labor, against those gainfully employed and the unemployed as well, should the Negro in his bias against Organized Labor for its Jim Crow policies turn against the trade union movement. As has happened, sir.

In conclusion, might I presume just once more by saying that in your own defense your association with this great cause must prove of significantly more value than any conceivable battery of high priced counsel which you might employ?

Needless to say I look forward to your views on this.

Fraternally yours,

Sol Newman

Mr. James R. Hoffa, president
Int'l. Bro. of Teamsters, Chauffeurs & Warehousemen
25 Louisiana Avenue N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

copy to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

TELEPHONE: REdwood 6-2222

ROBERT E. ENNIS
Attorney-at-Law
403 61ST AVENUE
CAPITOL HEIGHTS 27, MARYLAND

27 August 1963

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Ennis, Robert E.
X

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

Could you be interested in lending your prestige to a project that would free countless thousands of our people (irrespective of color; whose financial limitations preclude their and their children's enjoying a wholesome life) in all our States from a life of degradation?

Your so doing should portray you in a light that your antagonists would prefer not to be shown.

This is not a plea for funds. If there be among your friends or official family those who wish to dispel the "bad guy" picture of you that has been created for you by your enemies, I believe that your participation in this would help.

I should be pleased to talk this over with any of your aides if you wish.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Ennis
ROBERT E. ENNIS

MR. JAMES R. HOFFA
25 Louisiana Avenue, Northwest
Washington, D.C.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE ✓
Civil Rights
X National American Labor Council
X Contributor August 19, 1963
DATE

Office of the General President

To: Mr. English

From: James Hoffa

This will authorize the issuance of a check in the amount of $1,500.00, payable to the National American Labor Council, 217 West 125th Street, NYC. This check is in payment of fifteen $100.00 tickets for a fund raising affair being held in NYC.

Vice-President O'Rourke is being asked to be present at this affair to receive a special certificate honoring the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH/ms

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Publicity - Porters Shaping Car
X Randolph, A. Philip
X Personnel - O'Rourke, John J.

August 19, 1963

Mr. John J. O'Rourke, Vice-President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
265 West 14th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir and Brother:

On Saturday night, August 24th, a big theatre presentation will be held in New York City as a fund raising affair on the part of A. Philip Randolph's work in civil rights. As one of the highlights of this party, a certificate will be awarded to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

I am wondering if you can arrange your affairs to be present to accept this award on behalf of the International Union.

Fraternally yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH/sec

2539 E. MONUMENT ST.

OFFICERS

President
LEROY GRIFFIN

Vice-President
PAUL REYNOLDS

Secretary-Treasurer
HARRY RYAN

Recording Secretary
GERARD GIBSON

Trustees
THOMAS CLARK
SAMUEL PATTI
E. W. BUTLER

20

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

TEAMSTERS JOINT COUNCIL No. 62

AFFILIATED WITH THE

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

PHONE: 342-0122

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X fc 62
X

August 15, 1963

Mr. Harold J. Gibbons, Exec. Asst.
to the General President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In accordance with your request of August 12, 1963 to President Leroy M. Griffin of Teamsters Joint Council No. 62; we have contacted the Church World Service Center, at New Windsor, Maryland, and have made arrangements to have the twenty cases of canned goods shipped to Greenwood, Mississippi via Associated Transport at this Councils' expense.

For which the people at New Windsor were very gratefull.

Fraternally yours,

TEAMSTERS JOINT COUNCIL NO. 62

Clifford Kohne

Clifford Kohne

CK:sh
cc:H. Patterson

PURCHASE ONLY PRODUCTS MADE AND DELIVERED BY UNION LABOR

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights - NAG
X AC 62
X

August 12, 1963

Mr. Leroy Griffin, President
Teamsters Joint Council No. 62
6000 Erdman
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Sir and Brother:

Attached is a copy of a communication which is self-explanatory.

Around the country our Joint Councils are assisting in this kind of activity by paying the transportation charges for the movement of such food. The communication is being referred to you with the suggestion that your Joint Council advise Mr. Patterson that you will be happy to pay the transportation cost of this shipment.

Please let me know what the decision of the Council is.

Fraternally yours,

H. J. Gibbons,
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yh
Enc.
cc: Hank Patterson

INTERNATIONAL · COMMISSION

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

[illegible] CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BArling 2-3722 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

August 8, 1963

Mr. Harold Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

Mr. Tim Manring suggested that I write you concerning the need to transport twenty cases of canned food from the Church World Service warehouse in New Windsor, Maryland to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 708 Avenue N., Greenwood, Mississippi. This food was collected by students at Towson State Teachers College.

We have notified the people at the Church World Service warehouse that, if possible, the food will be picked up in the next few weeks. Your assistance in securing transportation for the food would be greatly appreciated.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Hank Patterson

Hank Patterson
Special Assistant

HP/bag

cc: Miss Gertrude E. Daly
World University Service

President
W. DENNIS SHAUL
University of Notre Dame
Assistant to the President
DOROTHEA M. KRISCN
Saint John's University

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Vice President
DONALD SMITH
University of Texas
Administrative Assistant
THOMAS F. OLSON
University of Minnesota
Special Assistant
JOSEPH LOVE
Stanford University
Special Assistant
ROBERT W. BACKOFF
University of Illinois
Special Assistant
HENRY N. PATTERSON, JR.
University of North Carolina
Special Assistant
MICHAEL GREENE
Antioch College
Director, Foreign Student Leadership Project
GEORGE HAZELRIGG
University of Oklahoma
Director
Special Exchanges
FRANK CRUMP
Columbia University

NATIONAL AFFAIRS
Vice President
TIMOTHY A. MANRING
Washington State University
Program Vice President
STEPHEN BROCKBAHN
University of Utah
Program Vice President
DENNIS R. YEAGER
Loyola of the South
Director, Academic Freedom Project
NEAL JOHNSTON
University of Chicago
Administrative Assistant
J. HARRIET DIETZ
Chatham College
Student Government Information Service Director
MARCIA KIRKPATRICK
University of Wisconsin

West Coast Office
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California
Educational Travel, Inc.
20 West 35th Street
New York 18, New York
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California
Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NATIONAL ADVISORS
John Cogley
Staff Administrator
The Fund for the Republic
Sidney Hertzberg
Editor
Current Magazine
Rev. T. M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President
University of Notre Dame
Russell Kirk
Editor
The University Bookman
Ralph McGill
Publisher
Atlanta Constitution
Robert H. Shaffer
Dean of Students
Indiana University
Milton Shapp
Chairman of the Board
Jerrold Electronics

Chairman
National Advisory Board
DR. EUGENE FONTINELL
Professor
Queens College
Chairman
Financial Advisory Board
RUTH NAOY BROD

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Hart Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Radio & TV
X "Freedom Now"
X Koch, Christopher

August 12, 1963

Mr. Christopher Koch
WBAI
30 East 39th Street
New York 16. N. Y.

Dear Mr. Koch:

I have discussed your proposal - WBAI's documentary FREEDOM NOW with our officers here in Washington, and they do not feel this is a project which we can undertake.

Under separate covering I am returning the tape you sent me.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yh

wbai 99.5 MC FM
PACIFICA FOUNDATION
LISTENER SUPPORTED RADIO STATION
30 EAST 39TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N Y
OXFORD 7 2288

July 9, 1963

Mr. Harold Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiane Avenue
Washington NW 1, District of Columbia

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

This is to confirm our conversation of Monday afternoon. As we said, we are sending under separate cover a copy of WBAI's documentary, FREEDOM NOW! This is the first program in our proposed series, and serves as an introduction to the subject. It does not explore the specific causes of racial conflict, but rather attempts to dramatise the impact of that struggle in the South. I hope you enjoy it.

I am also enclosing several extra copies of our prospectus which you may be able to use.

I feel sure that the Teamsters will want to support this project; I know the reputation of your own work in St. Louis, and your interest in organizing the South.

Programs produced under a grant by the International Brotherhood or by one of your locals would, of course, carry such an announcement when they are broadcast.

It was a pleasure meeting you, and I hope to be hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Christopher Koch

Christopher Koch
Public Affairs Director

Enc. 3 copies of prospectus

OWNED AND OPERATED BY PACIFICA FOUNDATION - DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

WBAI-FM - 30 EAST 39 STREET - NEW YORK CITY 16 - OX 7-2288

THE ROOTS OF RACIAL CONFLICT IN THE SOUTH

Prospectus for Pacifica Foundation's Documentary Series

The most important story in the South is being neglected almost entirely by the mass media and, to a large extent, by the Civil Rights Movement itself. That story is the economic foundations underlying the racial situation there and its relation to the revolution of the American Negro in the year 1963. Pacifica Radio will report this story, as comprehensible as possible, in the coming months. In this coverage, we shall try to document the economic realities, past and present, ascertain what effect they are having and will have on the integration movement and what effect that movement is having and will have on them. To structure this study we posit the following questions as areas of inquiry:

1) What is the economic basis of racism itself, today?

   What is the factual background to the White worker's fear of Negro job competition?

   In what way has the Civil Rights Movement affected this situation, and to what extent?

   How, and in what concrete instances, has racism been utilized as a weapon against labor organization?

2) One of the greatest problems in the South is that Negro demands for equal job opportunities are made in a situation in which there are just not enough jobs to go around. Is it possible that any lasting solution to the racial problem can be found while this remains the case?

Will more industry mean more jobs and therefore greater significance of the Negro work force in the Southern economy, or will larger, more centralized and automated industries only mean an increase in certain categories of work, and even greater unemployment in the long run, as is already occurring in the rural areas?

3) What are the various forces, attitudes and programs within the Civil Rights Movement with respect to the economic question? How do they relate to labor?

What are the social and economic characteristics and backgrounds of Negro leaders and their organizations?

What are the social and economic outlooks of these leaders and organisations?

What influence do these factors have in shaping the form and direction of the Civil Rights Movement itself?

4) What are the attitudes of rank-and-file Negroes (past and present) toward labor? How has the Civil Rights Movement affected these attitudes?

To what extent are Negro workers organized?

What is the attitude of working class Negroes to the Civil Rights Movement? To what extent do they participate in it?

5) What kind of jobs do Negroes in the South hold?

What is the extent of poverty, unemployment and under-employment among Negroes compared to that among Whites?

6) Generally, what are the critical antagonisms and what are the common interests of the Civil Rights and Labor Movements in the South? What are the problems each present to the other? What can each do to help the other?

We intend to do a special study in rural areas, where the bulk of the Negro population lives and where problems are exacerbated by the high rate of agricultural automation.

The South is by no means an entirely homogenous area. It is composed of a number of disparate local situations. The different character and outcome of Civil Rights activities from one place to another mirrors these variations. There are, however, two basic economic situations in the South that affect both the Civil Rights and the Labor picture. They are represented by Birmingham, Alabama, and Jackson, Mississippi; the former being highly industrialized, and almost wholly dependant upon the steel industry; the latter, while possessing some industry, being largely an agricultural center. There, and in Mississippi generally, poverty and racial oppression are more serious than in Birmingham. The Negro leadership is less militant, the White power structure more provincial and more unified, the gulf between White and Negro workers more abysmal than elsewhere. These two basic variations occur in local areas throughout the South. They do not follow state lines; there are places in Alabama, for instance, that correspond more closely to Jackson than to Birmingham. At any rate, Jackson and Birmingham will serve as prototypes to document the questions raised.

We also intend to work in the Virginia-Maryland area where recent racial strife has occurred. Here is a chance to cover a "border" area, where Negro expectations are higher and White desperation greater than elsewhere.

Most of our rural study will be conducted in the delta region of Mississippi and in the northern counties of that state, with less extensive, "corroborative" studies made elsewhere in the South. In conjunction with our coverage of Jackson,

we intend to do some work in the Hattiesburg region, Mississippi's Birmingham.

The resulting programs will not simply be sociological documentaries, but significant news stories as well, broadcast as the work is in progress. The answers to many (if not all) of the questions we are asking do not, in fact, exist as yet. They are being hammered out at present by the motion and conflict of forces in the South and elsewhere in the nation, and we want to cover, report and document this process as it occurs. We also will continue to add a dimension to the daily news broadcasts at each of Pacifica's three stations while we are in the field.

*****

July 3, 1963

WBAI-FM - 10 EAST 39 STREET - NEW YORK CITY 16 - OX 7-2288

THE ROOTS OF RACIAL CONFLICT IN THE SOUTH

Prospectus for Pacifica Foundation's Documentary Series

The most important story in the South is being neglected almost entirely by the mass media and, to a large extent, by the Civil Rights Movement itself. That story is the economic foundations underlying the racial situation there and its relation to the revolution of the American Negro in the year 1963. Pacifica Radio will report this story, as comprehensible as possible, in the coming months. In this coverage, we shall try to document the economic realities, past and present, ascertain what effect they are having and will have on the integration movement and what effect that movement is having and will have on them. To structure this study we posit the following questions as areas of inquiry:

1) What is the economic basis of racism itself, today?

   What is the factual background to the White worker's fear of Negro job competition?

   In what way has the Civil Rights Movement affected this situation, and to what extent?

   How, and in what concrete instances, has racism been utilized as a weapon against labor organization?

2) One of the greatest problems in the South is that Negro demands for equal job opportunities are made in a situation in which there are just not enough jobs to go around. Is it possible that any lasting solution to the racial problem can be found while this remains the case?

Will more industry mean more jobs and therefore greater significance of the Negro work force in the Southern economy, or will larger, more centralized and automated industries only mean an increase in certain categories of work, and even greater unemployment in the long run, as is already occurring in the rural areas?

3) What are the various forces, attitudes and programs within the Civil Rights Movement with respect to the economic question? How do they relate to labor?

What are the social and economic characteristics and backgrounds of Negro leaders and their organizations?

What are the social and economic outlooks of these leaders and organizations?

What influence do these factors have in shaping the form and direction of the Civil Rights Movement itself?

4) What are the attitudes of rank-and-file Negroes (past and present) toward labor? How has the Civil Rights Movement affected these attitudes?

To what extent are Negro workers organized?

What is the attitude of working class Negroes to the Civil Rights Movement? To what extent do they participate in it?

5) What kind of jobs do Negroes in the South hold?

What is the extent of poverty, unemployment and under-employment among Negroes compared to that among Whites?

6) Generally, what are the critical antagonisms and what are the common interests of the Civil Rights and Labor Movements in the South? What are the problems each present to the other? What can each do to help the other?

We intend to do a special study in rural areas, where the bulk of the Negro population lives and where problems are exacerbated by the high rate of agricultural automation.

The South is by no means an entirely homogenous area. It is composed of a number of disparate local situations. The different character and outcome of Civil Rights activities from one place to another mirrors these variations. There are, however, two basic economic situations in the South that affect both the Civil Rights and the Labor picture. They are represented by Birmingham, Alabama, and Jackson, Mississippi; the former being highly industrialized, and almost wholly dependant upon the steel industry; the latter, while possessing some industry, being largely an agricultural center. There, and in Mississippi generally, poverty and racial oppression are more serious than in Birmingham. The Negro leadership is less militant, the White power structure more provincial and more unified, the gulf between White and Negro workers more abysmal than elsewhere. These two basic variations occur in local areas throughout the South. They do not follow state lines; there are places in Alabama, for instance, that correspond more closely to Jackson than to Birmingham. At any rate, Jackson and Birmingham will serve as prototypes to document the questions raised.

We also intend to work in the Virginia-Maryland area where recent racial strife has occurred. Here is a chance to cover a "border" area, where Negro expectations are higher and White desperation greater than elsewhere.

Most of our rural study will be conducted in the delta region of Mississippi and in the northern counties of that state, with less extensive, "corroborative" studies made elsewhere in the South. In conjunction with our coverage of Jackson,

we intend to do some work in the Hattiesburg region, Mississippi's Birmingham.

The resulting programs will not simply be sociological documentaries, but significant news stories as well, broadcast as the work is in progress. The answers to many (if not all) of the questions we are asking do not, in fact, exist as yet. They are being hammered out at present by the motion and conflict of forces in the South and elsewhere in the nation, and we want to cover, report and document this process as it occurs. We also will continue to add a dimension to the daily news broadcasts at each of Pacifica's three stations while we are in the field.

*****

July 3, 1963

WBAI-FM - 30 EAST 39 STREET - NEW YORK CITY 16 - OX 7-2288

THE ROOTS OF RACIAL CONFLICT IN THE SOUTH

Prospectus for Pacifica Foundation's Documentary Series

The most important story in the South is being neglected almost entirely by the mass media and, to a large extent, by the Civil Rights Movement itself. That story is the economic foundations underlying the racial situation there and its relation to the revolution of the American Negro in the year 1963. Pacifica Radio will report this story, as comprehensible as possible, in the coming months. In this coverage, we shall try to document the economic realities, past and present, ascertain what effect they are having and will have on the integration movement and what effect that movement is having and will have on them. To structure this study we posit the following questions as areas of inquiry:

1) What is the economic basis of racism itself, today?

   What is the factual background to the White worker's fear of Negro job competition?

   In what way has the Civil Rights Movement affected this situation, and to what extent?

   How, and in what concrete instances, has racism been utilized as a weapon against labor organization?

2) One of the greatest problems in the South is that Negro demands for equal job opportunities are made in a situation in which there are just not enough jobs to go around. Is it possible that any lasting solution to the racial problem can be found while this remains the case?

Will more industry mean more jobs and therefore greater significance of the Negro work force in the Southern economy, or will larger, more centralized and automated industries only mean an increase in certain categories of work, and even greater unemployment in the long run, as is already occurring in the rural areas?

3) What are the various forces, attitudes and programs within the Civil Rights Movement with respect to the economic question? How do they relate to labor?

What are the social and economic characteristics and backgrounds of Negro leaders and their organisations?

What are the social and economic outlooks of these leaders and organisations?

What influence do these factors have in shaping the form and direction of the Civil Rights Movement itself?

4) What are the attitudes of rank-and-file Negroes (past and present) toward labor? How has the Civil Rights Movement affected these attitudes?

To what extent are Negro workers organised?

What is the attitude of working class Negroes to the Civil Rights Movement? To what extent do they participate in it?

5) What kind of jobs do Negroes in the South hold?

What is the extent of poverty, unemployment and under-employment among Negroes compared to that among Whites?

6) Generally, what are the critical antagonisms and what are the common interests of the Civil Rights and Labor Movements in the South? What are the problems each present to the other? What can each do to help the other?

We intend to do a special study in rural areas, where the bulk of the Negro population lives and where problems are exacerbated by the high rate of agricultural automation.

The South is by no means an entirely homogenous area. It is composed of a number of disparate local situations. The different character and outcome of Civil Rights activities from one place to another mirrors these variations. There are, however, two basic economic situations in the South that affect both the Civil Rights and the Labor picture. They are represented by Birmingham, Alabama, and Jackson, Mississippi; the former being highly industrialized, and almost wholly dependant upon the steel industry; the latter, while possessing some industry, being largely an agricultural center. There, and in Mississippi generally, poverty and racial oppression are more serious than in Birmingham. The Negro leadership is less militant, the White power structure more provincial and more unified, the gulf between White and Negro workers more abysmal than elsewhere. These two basic variations occur in local areas throughout the South. They do not follow state lines; there are places in Alabama, for instance, that correspond more closely to Jackson than to Birmingham. At any rate, Jackson and Birmingham will serve as prototypes to document the questions raised.

We also intend to work in the Virginia-Maryland area where recent racial strife has occurred. Here is a chance to cover a "border" area, where Negro expectations are higher and White desperation greater than elsewhere.

Most of our rural study will be conducted in the delta region of Mississippi and in the northern countiea of that state, with less extensive, "corroborative" studies made elsewhere in the South. In conjunction with our coverage of Jackson,

we intend to do some work in the Hattiesburg region, Mississippi's Birmingham.

The resulting programs will not simply be sociological documentaries, but significant news stories as well, broadcast as the work is in progress. The answers to many (if not all) of the questions we are asking do not, in fact, exist as yet. They are being hammered out at present by the motion and conflict of forces in the South and elsewhere in the nation, and we want to cover, report and document this process as it occurs. We also will continue to add a dimension to the daily news broadcasts at each of Pacifica's three stations while we are in the field.

*****

July 3, 1963

89.5 FM RADIO

OXFORD 7-2288

WBAI

PACIFICA FOUNDATION

CHRISTOPHER KOCH
PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIRECTOR

30 EAST 39TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

[illegible] OF RACIAL CONFLICT IN THE UNITED STATES

PACIFICA POUNDATION - WBAI
30 Eaat 39 Street, New York 16, New York

INTRODUCTION

WBAI-FM intends to carry out intensive summer coverage of racial conflict in the United States. Programs are being produced that deal with Negro history; Negro folklore; with the role and function of the Negro press; with Negro labor and working conditions. The major part of thia coverage will be carried out in the South by our special correapondent, Dale Minor.

Thua far this summer WBAI has produced two major documentaries on racial conflict in the South. The first, FREEDOM NOW! dealing with racial demonstrations and their aftermath in Birmingham, Alabama, was broadcaat in New York on May 18th, June 10th and 12th. It was also broadcaat in San Francisco and Los Angeles. A copy of the tape has been purchaaed by the Swiss Broadcasting Company for use in Europe; other international radio services are being contacted. FREEDOM NOW! is being made available to United States radio stations, universities and education groups.

The second documentary was produced from recordings made in Jackson, Miaaiaaippi following the death of Medgar Evers, and was entitled WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? It is also being distributed as indicated above.

All the programs produced under this proposal will be made available for general distribution and all will initially be broadcast by the three Pacifica stations in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

For 12 yeara Pacifica Radio has been a leading broadcaster in labor and civil rights, and has developed the experience and contacts necessary to carry out such a series of programs. Our reporter, Dale Minor, has been with Pacifica for several years and has produced an award-winning documentary and an award-winning dramatic production.

We estimate the total cost of our Southern coverage at a little over $7,000 (a budget for this coverage is attached). Thus far we have been able to raiae $1,900 towards this goal.

Pacifica Foundation is a non-profit, listener-supported educational inatitution that operates three radio stations. The cost of their operation ia met by the voluntary contributions of over 30,000 listeners who are their only sponsors. It has a combined audience of approximately 1 million liateners in its three major broadcast areas, New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco, and its programs have been heard throughout the world.

All contributions ahould be made payable to Pacifica Foundation-WBAI. They are tax deductible.

WBAI-FM - 30 EAST 39 STREET - NEW YORK CITY 16 - OX 7-2288

THE ROOTS OF RACIAL CONFLICT IN THE SOUTH

Prospectus for Pacifica Foundation's Documentary Series

The most important story in the South is being neglected almost entirely by the mass media and, to a large extent, by the Civil Rights Movement itself. That story is the economic foundations underlying the racial situation there and its relation to the revolution of the American Negro in the year 1963. Pacifica Radio will report this story, as comprehensible as possible, in the coming months. In this coverage, we shall try to document the economic realities, past and present, ascertain what effect they are having and will have on the integration movement and what effect that movement is having and will have on them. To structure this study we posit the following questions as areas of inquiry:

1) What is the economic basis of racism itself, today?

   What is the factual background to the White worker's fear of Negro job competition?

   In what way has the Civil Rights Movement affected this situation, and to what extent?

   How, and in what concrete instances, has racism been utilized as a weapon against labor organization?

2) One of the greatest problems in the South is that Negro demands for equal job opportunities are made in a situation in which there are just not enough jobs to go around. Is it possible that any lasting solution to the racial problem can be found while this remains the case?

Will more industry mean more jobs and therefore greater significance of the Negro work force in the Southern economy, or will larger, more centralized and automated industries only mean an increase in certain categories of work, and even greater unemployment in the long run, as is already occurring in the rural areas?

3) What are the various forces, attitudes and programs within the Civil Rights Movement with respect to the economic question? How do they relate to labor?

What are the social and economic characteristics and backgrounds of Negro leaders and their organizations?

What are the social and economic outlooks of these leaders and organizations?

What influence do these factors have in shaping the form and direction of the Civil Rights Movement itself?

4) What are the attitudes of rank-and-file Negroes (past and present) toward labor? How has the Civil Rights Movement affected these attitudes?

To what extent are Negro workers organized?

What is the attitude of working class Negroes to the Civil Rights Movement? To what extent do they participate in it?

5) What kind of jobs do Negroes in the South hold?

What is the extent of poverty, unemployment and under-employment among Negroes compared to that among Whites?

6) Generally, what are the critical antagonisms and what are the common interests of the Civil Rights and Labor Movements in the South? What are the problems each present to the other? What can each do to help the other?

We intend to do a special study in rural areas, where the bulk of the Negro population lives and where problems are exacerbated by the high rate of agricultural automation.

The South is by no means an entirely homogenous area. It is composed of a number of disparate local situations. The different character and outcome of Civil Rights activities from one place to another mirrors these variations. There are, however, two basic economic situations in the South that affect both the Civil Rights and the Labor picture. They are represented by Birmingham, Alabama, and Jackson, Mississippi; the former being highly industrialized, and almost wholly dependant upon the steel industry; the latter, while possessing some industry, being largely an agricultural center. There, and in Mississippi generally, poverty and racial oppression are more serious than in Birmingham. The Negro leadership is less militant, the White power structure more provincial and more unified, the gulf between White and Negro workers more abysmal than elsewhere. These two basic variations occur in local areas throughout the South. They do not follow state lines; there are places in Alabama, for instance, that correspond more closely to Jackson than to Birmingham. At any rate, Jackson and Birmingham will serve as prototypes to document the questions raised.

We also intend to work in the Virginia-Maryland area where recent racial strife has occurred. Here is a chance to cover a "border" area, where Negro expectations are higher and White desperation greater than elsewhere.

Most of our rural study will be conducted in the delta region of Mississippi and in the northern counties of that state, with less extensive, "corroborative" studies made elsewhere in the South. In conjunction with our coverage of Jackson,

we intend to do some work in the Hattiesburg region, Mississippi's Birmingham.

The resulting programs will not simply be sociological documentaries, but significant news stories as well, broadcast as the work is in progress. The answers to many (if not all) of the questions we are asking do not, in fact, exist as yet. They are being hammered out at present by the motion and conflict of forces in the South and elsewhere in the nation, and we want to cover, report and document this process as it occurs. We also will continue to add a dimension to the daily news broadcasts at each of Pacifica's three stations while we are in the field.

*****

July 3, 1963

ROOTS OF RACIAL CONFLICT IN THE UNITED STATES

PACIFICA FOUNDATION - WBAI
30 East 39 Street, New York 16, New York

PROPOSED BUDGET

Production Costa

Producer-Director	$ 1,275
Supervision-Administration	1,200
Field expenses	2,500
Studio editing and technical	600

Equipment and materials

Remote field recorder	1,000
Tape stock	300
Mikea, stands, etc.	200
TOTAL PRODUCTION COSTS	$ 7,075

NOTE: In line with Pacifica Foundation's policies, all participants in thia program will be unpaid. Furthermore, the necessary reaearch, typing and clerical work is being contributed by volunteer listeners.

July 1963

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights

Department of Justice

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1963

A federal grand jury in Macon, Georgia today indicted nine members of the Albany Movement, three on charges of obstructing justice and six on charges of perjury, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy announced today.

The grand jury returned seven indictments. The first charged three defendants with obstructing justice by executing a conspiracy to picket and boycott a juror's grocery store because he had voted against a Negro in a federal civil suit last April.

Named as defendants in this indictment were: Dr. William G. Anderson, past president of the Albany Movement and Robert William Colbert and Luther Woodall, Jr., members of the Movement, a biracial organization protesting discrimination.

Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach said the Smith market closed following institution of the boycott.

"Peaceful protest demonstrations or picketing are not forbidden nor discouraged by federal law," Mr. Katzenbach said. "The charges here, however, involve retaliation against a juror for his vote in a federal case. Such conduct must become a matter of serious federal legal concern."

The other six defendants were charged in individual indictments with perjuring themselves before the grand jury. Named in these indictments were:

Slater Hunter King, present president of the Movement; Mrs. Elze Leelye Jackson, recording secretary of the Movement; and Thomas Chatmon, Rev. Samuel Wells, Robert Thomas, and Miss Joni Rabinowitz, members of the Movement.

Miss Rabinowitz, a volunteer worker from New Rochelle, N.Y., is the only white defendant.

The first indictment charged that starting about April 15, 1963 the three defendants conspired with other persons to picket the Carl Smith Supermarket in Albany, in order to punish Carl Smith, the owner, for his vote against a Negro plaintiff in a civil damage suit against the sheriff of Baker County, Georgia.

The plaintiff, Charles Ware, alleged that Sheriff L. Warren Johnson shot and wounded him after his arrest July 4, 1961 in violation of Ware's

civil rights. Ware asked for $125,00 in damages. The jury, which was polled, returned a verdict in favor of the sheriff.

As part of the conspiracy, the grand jury charged, Dr. Anderson spoke at a meeting on about April 15 and Colbert and Woodall picketed the store on about April 20. The second count charged that the conspiracy was carried out.

In one of the perjury indictments, Miss Rabinowitz was charged with two counts of testifying falsely before the grand jury on August 5, 1963 when she said that she was not present and did not remember being present at the time of picketing at the Smith Store on April 20.

The other five perjury indictments all relate to a July 30 meeting at the Albany office of C. B. King, attorney for the Movement, and brother of Slater King. C. B. King was not present at the meeting.

The grand jury charged Mrs. Jackson and Slater King perjured themselves when they told the grand jury that they did not recall being present at the meeting. Rev. Wells and Thomas were charged with perjury because they said they were not present.

Chatmon was charged with two counts of perjury. He appeared before the grand jury twice and said he did not remember being present the first time and denied being present the second.

Maximum penalties would be 10 years in prison and $15,000 for conviction on the obstruction of justice charges and five years and $2,000 par count for conviction on the perjury charges.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
ALBANY DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	)	CRIMINAL NO. 2222
vs	)	Vio: Section 371, Title 18, United States Code, and 18 United States Code, Sections 2 and 1503.
WILLIAM G. ANDERSON, ROBERT WILLIAM COLBERT LUTHER WOODALL, JR.	)	

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

COUNT ONE

1. That commencing on or about April 15, 1963, and continuoualy until on or about April 30, 1963, within the Albany Division of the Middle District of Georgia, WILLIAM G. ANDERSON, ROBERT WILLIAM COLBERT and LUTHER WOODALL, JR., wilfully and knowingly conspired, combined, confederated and agreed together and with each other and with divers other persons to the Grand Jury unknown, to commit an offense against the United States, that ia, to injure and cause to be injured one Carl Smith in his property, namely, the business owned and operated by him under the firm name and atyle of Carl Smith's Supermarket at 307 Highland Avenue, in the City of Albany, Georgia, on account of the said Carl Smith having been a petit juror in the United States District Court for the District aforesaid in the case of Charlie Ware v. Sheriff L. Warren Johnson, et al., Civil Action Number 749, and on account of the said Carl Smith having assented, as such petit juror, to the verdict in said case, in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 1503.

2. It was a part of said conspiracy that the defendants would picket Carl Smith's Supermarket and encourage, counsel and induce customers and prospective customers not to trade with the said Carl Smith.

In furtherance of the conspiracy and to effect the objects thereof, the defendants, within the Albany Division of the

Middle District of Georgia, committed the following overt acta:

Overt Act No. 1

On or about April 15, 1963, the defendant WILLIAM G. ANDERSON had a converaation with the defendant LUTHER WOODALL, JR.

Overt Act No. 2

On or about April 15, 1963, the defendant WILLIAM G. ANDERSON apoke at a meeting attended by the defendanta ROBERT WILLIAM COLBERT and LUTHER WOODALL, JR.

Overt Act No. 3

On or about April 20, 1953, the defendants ROBERT WILLIAM COLBERT and LUTHER WOODALL, JR., on the aidewalk adjacent to the main entrance of Carl Smith'a Supermarket, 307 Highland Avenue, in the City of Albany, Georgia, did restrain and attempt to reatrain proapective cuatomera from entering and dealing with aaid buaineaa.

COUNT TWO

That commencing on or about April 15, 1963, and continuoualy until on or about April 30, 1963, within the Albany Diviaion of the Middle District of Georgia, WILLIAM G. ANDERSON, ROBERT WILLIAM COLBERT and LUTHER WOODALL, JR., did wilfully and knowingly injure and cauae to be injured one Carl Smith in his property, that ia, the buaineaa owned and operated by him under the firm name and atyle of Carl Smith's Supermarket at 307 Highland Avenue, in the City of Albany, Georgia, on account of the aaid Carl Smith having been a petit juror in the United States Diatrict Court for the Diatrict aforesaid, in the case of Charlie Ware v. Sheriff L. Warren Johnaon, et al., Civil Action Number 749, and on account of the aaid Carl Smith having assented, as such petit juror, to the verdict in said case, all in violation of

Sections 2 and 1503, Title 18, United States Code.

A TRUE BILL.

S/ Lloyd M. Woodcock
Foreman of the Grand Jury.

S/ Floyd M. Buford
United States Attorney.

Filed: August 8th, 1963
Macon, Georgia.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
MACON DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	:	CRIMINAL NO. 8107
v.	:	Violation: 18 U.S.C. 1621
ELZA LESLYE JACKSON	:	

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

COUNT ONE

That on or about August 5, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, ELZA LESLYE JACKSON, hereinafter referred to as the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to the inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of a meeting of persons subpoenaed to appear before said Grand Jury held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said meeting constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 1503, and other Sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that she, the defendant, did not recall being present at the meeting held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that the defendant did then and there recall and well knew that she, the defendant, had been present at the meeting in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963; all in violation of 18 U.S.C. 1621.

A TRUE BILL.

Foreman of the Grand Jury

Floyd M Buford
United States Attorney

No. 8107

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

MIDDLE District of GEORGIA

MACON Division

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

ELZA LESLYE JACKSON

INDICTMENT

Violation: 18 USC 1621

A true bill,

Foreman.

Filed in open court this 9th day of August, A.D. 19 63

Walter Fdyke
Deputy Clerk.

Bail, $

PLEA

I, Elza Leslye Jackson having been advised of my Constitutional rights, and having had the charges herein stated to me, pleads

In Open Court, this day of , 19

VERDICT

We, the jury find the defendant guilty

this day of 19

Foreman

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
MACON DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	)	CRIMINAL NO. 8108
vs	)	Violation: 18 USC 1621
ROBERT THOMAS	)	

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

COUNT ONE

That on or about August 5, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, ROBERT THOMAS, Hereinafter referred to aa the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to the inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of a meeting of persons subpoenaed to appear before said Grand Jury held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said meeting constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 1503, and other Sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that he, the defendant, did not attend the meeting held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not then believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that the defendant did then and there well know that he, the defendant, did attend and was present at the meeting in the office of Attorney C. B. King,

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
MACON DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	)	CRIMINAL NO. 8108
vs	)	Violation: 18 USC 1621
ROBERT THOMAS	)	

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

COUNT ONE

That on or about August 5, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, ROBERT THOMAS, Hereinafter referred to as the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to the inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of a meeting of persons subpoenaed to appear before said Grand Jury held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said meeting constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 1503, and other Sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that he, the defendant, did not attend the meeting held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not then believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that the defendant did then and there well know that he, the defendant, did attend and was present at the meeting in the office of Attorney C. B. King,

Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963; all in violation of 18 USC 1621.

A TRUE BILL.

Foreman of the Grand Jury.

Floyd M. Buford

United States Attorney.

Form No. 195

No. 8108

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

MIDDLE District of GEORGIA

MACON Division

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

ROBERT THOMAS

INDICTMENT

Violation: 18 USC 1621

A true bill,

Foreman.

Filed in open court this 9th day of August, A.D. 1953

Walter Hoyle

Clerk.

Bail, $

PLEA

I, Robert Thomas, having been advised of my Constitutional rights, and having had the charges herein stated to me, plead In Open Court, this day of , 19

VERDICT

We, the jury find the defendant guilty this day of , 19

Foreman

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
MACON DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA)
va)
SAMUEL B. WELLS)

CRIMINAL NO. 8109
Violation: 18 USC 1621

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

COUNT ONE

That on or about August 5, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, SAMUEL B. WELLS, hereinafter referred to as the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to the inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of a meeting of persons subpoenaed to appear before said Grand Jury held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said meeting constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 1503, and other Sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that he, the defendant, did not attend the meeting held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not then believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that the defendant did then and there well know that he, the defendant, did attend and was present at the meeting in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963; all in

violation of 18 USC 1621.

A TRUE BILL.

Foreman of the Grand Jury.

Floyd M Buford
United States Attorney.

Form No. 105

No. 8109

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

MIDDLE District of GEORGIA

MACON Division

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

SAMUEL B. WELLS

INDICTMENT

Violation: 18 USC 1621

A true bill,

P. M. Woodcock
Foreman.

Filed in open court this 9th day of August, A.D. 19 63

Walter F. Lyle
Chief Deputy Clerk.

Bail, $.....

PLEA

I, Samuel B. Wells having been advised of my Constitutional rights, and having had the charges herein stated to me, plead In Open Court, this ..... day of ....., 19..

VERDICT

We, the jury find the defendant ..... this ..... day of ..... 19..

Foreman

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
MACON DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	:	CRIMINAL NO. 8110
v:	:	
JONI RABINOWITZ	:	Violation: 18 U.S.C. 1621

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

COUNT ONE

That on or about August 5, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, JONI RABINOWITZ, hereinafter referred to as the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of the boycotting and picketing of Carl Smith's Foodland Store, Albany, Georgia, on Saturday, April 20, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said boycotting and picketing constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 371, Section 2, Section 1503, and other Sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that she, the defendant, did not remember seeing picketing going on at Carl Smith's Foodland Store, Albany, Georgia, on Saturday, April 20, 1963, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not then believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that she, the defendant, did then and there recall, remembered and well knew that she, the defendant, had seen the picketing of Carl Smith's Foodland Store, Albany, Georgia, on Saturday, April 20, 1963; all in violation of 18 U.S.C. 1621.

COUNT TWO

That on or about August 5, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, JONI RABINOWITZ, hereinafter

referred to as the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to the inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of the boycotting and picketing of Carl Smith's Foodland Store, Albany, Georgia, on Saturday, April 20, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said boycotting and picketing constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 371, Section 2, Section 1503, and other Sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that she, the defendant, did not observe the picketing of Carl Smith's Foodland Store, Albany, Georgia, on Saturday, April 20, 1963, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not then believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that she, the defendant, did then and there know that she, the defendant, had seen and observed the picketing of Carl Smith's Foodland Store, Albany, Georgia, on Saturday, April 20, 1963; all in violation of 18 U.S.C. 1621.

A TRUE BILL.

Foreman of the Grand Jury

Floyd M. Buford
United States Attorney

Form No. 105

No. 8110

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

MIDDLE District of GEORGIA

MACON Division

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

JONI RABINOWITZ

INDICTMENT

Violation: 18 U.S.C. 1621

A true bill,

B. Woodcock

Foreman.

Filed in open court this 9th day of August, A. D. 1963

Walter J. Boyle

Chief Deputy Clerk.

Bail, $

PLEA

I, Joni Rabinowitz, having been advised of my Constitutional rights, and having had the charges herein stated to me, plead ..... In Open Court, this ..... day of ....., 19..

VERDICT

We, the jury find the defendant ..... this ..... day of ....., 19..

Foreman

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
MACON DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	)	CRIMINAL NO. 8111
vs	)	Violation: 18 USC 1621
SLATER HUNTER KING	)	

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

COUNT ONE

That on or about August 5, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, SLATER HUNTER KING, hereinafter referred to as the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to the inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of a meeting of persons subpoenaed to appear before said Grand Jury held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said meeting constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 1503, and other Sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that he, the defendant, did not recall attending any type of meeting during the week of July 29, 1963, through August 2, 1963, wherein he or others discussed the fact that this Grand Jury was in session here in Macon, Georgia, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not then believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that the defendant did then and there recall and well knew that he, the defendant, had been present at a meeting of persons subpoenaed to appear before

said Grand Jury, which meeting was held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963; all in violation of 18 USC 1621.

A TRUE BILL.

Foreman of the Grand Jury.

Floyd M. Buford
United States Attorney.

Form No. 105

No. 8111

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

MIDDLE District of GEORGIA

MACON Division

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

SLATER HUNTER KING

INDICTMENT

Violation: 18 USC 1621

A true bill.

Foreman.

Filed in open court this 9th day of August, A. D. 1963

Walter F. Doyle
Chas. E. Wyatt
Clerk.

Bail, $

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—44356-2

PLEA

I, Slater Hunter King, being advised of my Constitutional rights, and having read the charges herein stated to me, pleaded this day of , 19

In Open Court, this

VERDICT

We, the jury find the defendant , day of , 19

, Foreman

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
MACON DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA :

v. :

THOMAS C. CHATMON :

CRIMINAL NO. 8112

Violation: 18 USC 1621

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

COUNT ONE

That on or about August 5, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, THOMAS C. CHATMON, hereinafter referred to as the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to the inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of a meeting of persons subpoenaed to appear before said Grand Jury held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said meeting constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 1503, and other sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that he, the defendant, did not recall being present at the meeting held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not then believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that the defendant did then and there recall and well knew that he, the defendant, had been present at the meeting in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963; all in violation of 18 USC 1621.

COUNT TWO

That on or about August 5, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, THOMAS C. CHATMON, hereinafter

referred to as the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to the inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of a meeting of persons subpoenaed to appear before said Grand Jury held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said meeting constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 1503, and other Sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that he, the defendant, did not attend the meeting held in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not then believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that the defendant did then and there know that he, the defendant, had attended the meeting in the office of Attorney C. B. King, Albany, Georgia, on the afternoon of July 30, 1963; all in violation of 18 USC 1621.

A TRUE BILL

Foreman of the Grand Jury

Floyd M. Buford

United States Attorney

Form No. 195

No. 8112

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

MIDDLE District of GEORGIA

MACON Division

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

THOMAS C. CHATMON

INDICTMENT

Violation: 18 USC 1621

A true bill,

Foreman.

Filed in open court this 9th day of August, A.D. 1963

Walter T. Doyle
Chief Deputy
Clerk.

Bail, $

PLEA

I, Thomas C. Chatmon, being a citizen of the United States, and having been advised of my Constitutional rights, and having been charged herein, hereby stand to me, plead

In Open Court, this day of , 19

VERDICT

We, the jury find the defendant guilty

This , 19

Foreman

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
MACON DIVISION

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	)	CRIMINAL NO. 8113
vs	)	Violation: 18 USC 1621
JONI RABINOWITZ	)	

THE GRAND JURY CHARGES:

COUNT ONE

That on or about August 9, 1963, in the Macon Division of the Middle District of Georgia, JONI RABINOWITZ, hereinafter referred to as the defendant, in a case and instance in which the laws of the United States authorize an oath to be administered and before a competent tribunal, to wit: a Grand Jury of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, having taken an oath to testify truly, thereafter in response to the inquiry of the Grand Jury into the facts and circumstances of the boycotting and picketing of Carl Smith's Foodland Store, Albany, Georgia, on Saturday, April 20, 1963, and further inquiry as to whether said boycotting and picketing constituted a possible violation of United States Code, Title 18, Section 371, Section 2, Section 1503, and other Sections, did knowingly, wilfully and contrary to said oath, as to a material matter testify in substance that she, the defendant, was not present at the scene of the picketing of Carl Smith's Foodland Store, Albany, Georgia, on Saturday, April 20, 1963, which testimony and statement the said defendant did not then believe to be true, but was by the defendant then believed to be false in that she, the defendant, did then and there recall, remembered and well knew that she, the defendant,

was present at the scene of the picketing of Carl Smith's Foodland Store, Albany, Georgia, on Saturday, April 30, 1983; all in violation of 18 USC 1821.

A TRUE BILL.

Foreman of the Grand Jury.

Floyd M Buford
United States Attorney.

Form No. 195

No. 8113

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

MIDDLE District of GEORGIA

MACON Division

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs.

JONI RABINOWITZ

INDICTMENT

Violation: 18 USC 1621

A true bill,

Foreman.

Filed in open court this 12 day

of Dec, A.D. 1963

John P. Conant

Clerk.

Bail, $

PLEA

I, Joni Rabinowitz

having been advised by Counsel that I have constitutional rights, and having had the charges herein read to me, pleed

In Open Court, this day of , 19

VERDICT

We, the jury find the defendant

This day of , 19

Foreman

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x
x Jeffe, Ellie

THE TEAMSTERS

AND THE

NEGROES' CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

PRESENTED BY: EDDIE JAFFE
156 West 48th Street
New York, New York
CIrcle 5-7355

I N D E X

Page

PROPOSAL. 1

FUNCTIONS OF THE NCF. 2

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. . . .4

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE 5

URBAN LEAGUE'S TEN POINT PROGRAM. 6

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL 7

THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE 9

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQAULITY 11

THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL. 12

OTHER GROUPS. 13

THE ROLE OF THE WHITE MILLIONAIRES. 15

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT 16

NEGRO LEADERSHIP. 17

WHO ARE THE NEGRO LEADERS?. 18

WHO WILL BE THE NEW LEADERS?. 19

THE CHOICES 20

SAMPLE BUDGET ONE YEAR BASIS, IF WASHINGTON PLAN GOES THROUGH . 21

NECESSARY PROCEDURE FOR PLAN A. 22

SUBSTITUTE PLAN B 23

WHY A UNITED EMANCIPATION FUND AT THIS TIME?. 24

BUDGET. 25

THE DIAGNOSIS 26

PROPOSAL:

The formation of a National Council for Freedom or American Freedom Council (NCF or ACF) composed of the five or more Negro leaders to better:

1. organize
2. coordinate
3. finance
4. protect
5. interpret
6. advance
7. direct
8. strengthen
9. mobilize
10. define and clarify goals

The membership of the council, and all other decisions are to be made at the original meeting by A. Phillip Randolph, NALC; Roy Wilkins, NAACP; Whitney Young, Urban League; Rev. Martin Luther King, SCLC; and James Farmer, CORE.

FUNCTIONS OF THE NCF:

1. increased communications between top level leaders and local groups:
   a) by teletype network to each group's office.
   b) by daily or weekly progress bulletins.
2. to channel information to each organization:
   a) listing information.
   b) offers of assistance.
   c) negotiation inquiries.
3. to set goals:
   a) appraise results.
   b) re-define objectives by trained research staff available to answer any leadership queries.
4. continue survey of results in neglected areas.
5. to explore areas of joint activity in:
   a) fund raising.
   b) vote registration.
   c) demonstrations.
6. after obtaining approval for these joint ventures and assistance in initiating them on a local coordinated level:
   a) to set a pattern for local coordinating councils to assist each other toward a single goal.
   b) to blue-print local level activities.
   c) to attempt to organize them in any area where leadership agrees they should be carried out.
7. to enable the leadership of each organization to concentrate on more important roles by having a paid national executive staff to whom they can turn over responsibilities which they feel could be a joint activity.

Functions of the NCF continued

8. to enable each organization to better carry on its present work, secure in the knowledge that they are fully informed as to the progress, activities and problems of all other organizations working for Civil Rights and the creation of more jobs.
9. to be the one central source where records of all demonstrations and all details concerning them would be available.
10. to act as a Washington office for those organizations presently without one.
11. to make the legislative executive branches and local political leadership aware that they have to contend with a permanent organized, well financed council of important leaders in the Negroes' fight for freedom in job and equality, rather than various groups who, when a flood of emotion has passed, may not be on the Washington scene.
12. to facilitate cooperation of white organizations and individuals who wish to join in this common effort; to better encourage the aid of:
    a) white youth
    b) religious leaders
    c) labor organizations
    d) political organizations
    e) fraternal and professional organizations
    f) celebrities
    g) white leadership in any field

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP):

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the largest of the 6 organizations with 400,000 members and 1,200 separate chapters, founded originally in 1909.

Last year they took in $974,000 and spent $1,255,000. The deficit was made up from the reserves built up by life memberships. They spent $600,000 a year on administrative, executive, field and clerical salaries. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP receives $16,000 a year. They spent less than $10,000 on its Washington bureau. Total Legal Defense work in the South was $50,000.

They concentrate on vote registration legal defense and they claim they registered 250,000 Negroes to vote in the South last year.

They are church dominated and believed to have 80% Negro and 20% white membership.

EVALUATION: Legal department excellent, otherwise floundering, incompetent and non-militant. Regarded with dislike by the young progressive Negroes. "They have 50,000 members in New York City but if you call upon them for work, 16 show up," said one source.

Roy Wilkins controls the board. Best organized group with broadest contact to Negro community.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE:

The National Urban League was founded in 1910 and supported by white philanthropic funds. most importantly the Rockefellers, works in community action, job training and social welfare programs. (Estimated 60% white and 40% Negro membership.)

Urban League income for its national and regional offices - $715,000 in 1962 as compared to $304,000 in 1961.

They describe their work as "legally assisting hundreds of thousands of Negroes to acquire new and productive employment, obtain more and better housing and receive added educational opportunities, to secure and improve health and welfare conditions." They are in 64 metropolitan communities. They point out that 7 million Negro people (78% of all Negroes) reside in communities of 100,000 or over. Of the Negro labor force, 2,500,000 or 80% of the Negro labor in cities of 500,000 or over.

Executive director, Whitney Young has proposed a massive domestic "Marshall Plan"; a ten point plan herewith attached.

Young criticized the President recently for not exhibiting "the kind of guts that he, himself, describes in his book 'Profiles In Courage'". He said that the President and his brother, Bobby, "have only reacted, not acted" in the Civil Rights' crisis. Their attitude has been "how can we keep people from revolting and demonstrating and embarrassing us?"

EVALUATION: a social organization, a tea party. Most professional of all groups with full-time salaried staffers. It offers research service to other groups. Regarded as the place for white liberals who want to help, but not do as much as they would be asked to do if NAACP members.

URBAN LEAGUE'S TEN POINT PROGRAM:

1. Broadening and deepening of the basic concept of equal opportunity to include recognition of the need for special effort to overcome serious disabilities resulting from historic handicaps.
2. Recognition of a higher value of the human potential of Negroes and positive moves to develop that potential.
3. Better schools and teachers for Negro children.
4. A conscious, planned effort to place qualified Negroes in all types of employment and in positions of responsibility on both lower and upper management levels.
5. Destruction of ghettos and the opening of all types of housing on the basis of need and ability to buy or rent.
6. Provision by public and private health and welfare agencies of the best possible services to "the ghettoized segments of the population".
7. Inclusion of qualified Negroes on all public and private boards and commissions, particularly those that shape policy in employment, housing, education and health and welfare.
8. An effort by Negroes, adults as well as young people, to maintain and accelerate the urgency that characterized the drive for first-class citizenship.
9. Substantial increases in contributions by government, philanthropic foundations and business and industry to established organizations committed to obtain equal opportunity for Negroes.
10. Constructive efforts by Negroes to carry a full share of the responsibilities for "participation in a meaningful way in every phase of community life".

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP COUNCIL (SCLC):

The Southern Christian Leadership Council is headed by Rev. Martin Luther King, his brother, Wilson Wyatt (his assistant who is supposed to be one of the brightest guys in the entire field) and Rev. Kilgore.

It is a membership organization, but not much attention is paid to details, such as accounting.

SCLC does a very good fund raising job. Its main support comes from celebrities such as Frank Sinatra, Ray Charles, Sammy Davis, Jr., and others. Ray Charles alone in one concert at the Hollywood Bowl raised $150,000 for them.

King describes his Southern Christian Leadership Council as "principally a coordinating agency for a number of affiliated non-violent groups."

The SCLC budget in 1963 is $450,000 increased from $60,000 in 1960.

EVALUATION: Other groups claim that King and his group are getting all of the money and is the hottest in the field since Birmingham. Good Organization. King commands greatest individual following. SCLC is most likely candidate as a nationwide organization to compete with or replace NAACP.

SCLC continued

King says "What we want is...all, now and here...not some of our rights and not token handouts here and there. We want all of our rights ...here."

King's attitude on the President is he feels that the President can do a great deal more, but adds, "I know he has problems, I don't want to overlook them and I certainly don't want to give the impression that the President is not a man of good will. I think that when one compares what he has already done on Civil Rights with that of his predecessors he has done more, but I feel that the problem is so grave now that it takes more then applying a little vaseline to a cancer."

THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC - Nicknamed "SNICK"):

"SNICK" formed in 1960 at the Raleigh meeting of Southern Negro college students, it has 197 field agents. There is no formal membership.

"SNICK" has a 15 man staff in Atlanta. They receive wages of $40.00 a week and its head is Jim Foreman who receives $60.00 a week because he is married.

EVALUATION: violent, rebellious college kids. Brash reckless and disorganized. More organized groups shudder at SNICK's" operations. They don't consult other groups, but they are admired for their courage and persistence.

"SNICK's" own analysis: "Little organization, not much structure. There is not any particular battle plan, except what the situation demands. Often a local leader will call us in and give instructions on non-violent tactics and leave the demonstration, and we will go on to another town. We are the guerillas for the movement."

Rev. King called the original meeting. There is a suspicion that this organization is subsidized by King, as their source of money is not obvious.

Their technique is for the first workers to go into rural areas with nothing but the clothes they have on, thus they live on the charity of the frightened Negro community. They try to get rid of the impression that the people have, of these "SNICK" kids. Namely that they are crazy, fearless, sort of brave. They want the local Negroes to understand they're human but not as fearful as their hosts.

"SNICK" continued

One "SNICK" leader described the philosophy which enables the kids to stand up to the strain and danger...to their understanding of the following:

1. a lot of white people in the town want to kill you and will try.
2. police are hostile and not your friends.
3. courts are not going to be fair with you.
4. a sizable portion of the Negro community will not understand what you are trying to do at first.
5. It requires great persistence and continuation of effort before the nation wakes up to the point where the administration will live up to its national responsibility.

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE):

The Congress of Racial Equality is a national action organization with more than 70 local groups. Each local affiliate pays $10.00 a year annual affiliation fee and 10% of its gross to the national organization.

CORE reportedly was organized in 1942. James Farmer, national director, described the difference in the organizations, "NAACP is the Justice Department, the Urban League is the State Department and we are the non-violent Marines."

CORE claims to have initiated the sit-ins, the stand-ins and the Freedom Rides. They describe their activities as "inter-racial, non-violant and direct action."

CORE has a staff of field secretaries to provide training in non-violent direct action for its chapters and provides assistance in local programs. The front seat is Negro, the back seat is white - meaning paid employees are Negro and the supporters are white.

EVALUATION: The New York office functions very well, but not effectively in other areas. They are staffed mostly by what is described as "union rejects - men who have worked everywhere and wound up here." CORE also contains left-wing fringe in local organizations.

They claim to have more than 50,000 members. National CORE is also financed by associate members who pay $3.00 a year and by Church, unions, civic groups and local chapters.

James Farmer, head of CORE, receives $11,000 a year.

THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL:

The Negro American Labor Council formed 3 years ago in Detroit to enroll all Negro union members under one leadership. A. Philip Randolph, its founder quickly realized there weren't enough negroes in unions and enlarged it to include non-union workers. They supposedly have 15,000 members who are asked to pay $3.50 a year membership fee, or at best gives them an income of roughly $45,000 a year.

There are chapters in Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, Newark and Pittsburgh. Many of these are inactive. In many cases, the offices like the one in Detroit was donated to them by Walter Reuther.

Randolph is regarded as having the broadest platform and the most social sense of all the Negro leaders. He is the only one of the leaders who seems to realize that you have to attack the evil rather than the symptoms.

EVALUATION: Randolph's extreme age and lack of glory in the Labor Council doesn't attract young people to this group. But he's the only one until very recently who was willing to tackle the fundamental issues such as closed unions, lack of apprenticeship training, the progressively hopeless outlook for a Negro labor force consisting of 75% of unskilled labor during a decade of accellerated automation and a downgraded skilled labor force.

OTHER GROUPS:

THE BLACK MUSLIMS: believed to be 150,000 strong. King says that they are less than 1/10 of 1% of the Negro population. The FBI says there are 75,000 in the entire nation, but King believes that many more share the philosophy or agree with them on their statement on the race situation.

There are reportedly 80 temples around the country and the hard-core membership between 5,000 and 6,000 members with less disciplined followers between 150,000 and 300,000.

The Black Muslims are charged with:

1. preaching hatred and violence against the whites.
2. having a private army in a highly disciplined household guard or militia.
3. teaching black supremacy and segregation of the whites.
4. teaching that all white people are inferior and inherently devils.
5. advocating insurrection in the future, destruction of the white race and domination by the Negro population by 1970.

One report is that the active members give as high as $90 a month to the movement. The Muslims say that no one is forced to give.

The Black Muslim movement started in 1930 by Wallace Fard of Detroit who has since disappeared. Mohammad, born Elijah Poole, now 65 years old, took over the leadership after Fard's mysterious absence. Fard is regarded as God Himself, who will eventually reappear.

Other Groups continued

One of the appeals of the Black Muslims to the Negroes is the belief that woman is an inferior person and she should be behind the man. This is a very attractive view to many Negroes and works to eliminate the matriarchy that now exists in Negro communities. Black Muslims outlaw the use of alcohol and drugs and place great emphasis on physical fitness.

THE ROLE OF THE WHITE MILLIONAIRES:

According to a printed report a multi-millionaire named Stephen Currier, who heads the Taconic Foundation, which gives a great deal of money to Civil Rights' causes, recently gathered representatives of both Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and Frederick Warburg to listen to Whitney Young of the Urban League, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and James Farmer of CORE.

The point of the meeting was that revolutions have a habit of devouring their leaders. The aim was not to stop the movement, but to discipline it and direct the energy of 20 million Negroes to peaceful ends and to prevent the movement from collapsing from its own weight and violence. They needed money and man power.

According to one report $550,000 was immediately pledged; another report said it was closer to $850,000. The money would be distributed in the manner much as the UJA. Apparently, most of the money will go to the established organizations. The leaders supposedly agreed to give "SNICK" only a small donation.

The newspeper man reporting this said, "The events of the past week suggest that the Negro leaders are being forced together -- by tha pressure of events, and by the certain knowledge that if they failed to atick together their followers will outrun them."

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE NEGRO MOVEMENT:

No concrete data exists, except what is printed in the Communist press, but all observors agree that Communist efforts, to date, are concentrated on local levels rather than in any of the National Negro leadership.

Some Communists or Communist sympathizers have been taking part in demonstrations, but not as Communists. A reasonable guess is that the Communists feel that their cause would be best served by the failure of the current demonstrations and activities. The greater the failure, the easier it would be for them to step into the Negro leadership confusion and probable vacuum at that time.

NEGRO LEADERSHIP:

The Negro leaders today are more concerned with publicity problems rather than leadership duties.

Each group, except for A. Philip Randolph (and to a lesser degree, the Urban League, which is working on a different side of the street) is jealous of "their" race riot, "their" sit-ins, "their" marches and "their" mass protests. There is strong competition among them for funds, prestige, publicity and power.

What keeps their present minimum coordination and communication going is the fear of new groups being set up. This fear is stronger than their fear of each other.

One of the ironies of the problem is that when a group of businessmen wants to negotiate the Cambridge settlement, they went to Bobby Kennedy as the one voice who could speak for the Negroes and guarantee results.

WHO ARE THE NEGRO LEADERS?

First, the professional Negro leaders herein described.

Then, the intellectuals such as Louis Lomax, James Baldwin and John Killens. James Baldwin says, "No one can claim to speak for the Negro today. There is no one with whom the white power structure can negotiate a deal which will bind the Negro people. There is, therefore, no possibility of bargaining whatsoever. So, the problem of the professional leadership is not only communication with each other, but more important communication with their own people."

These men, however, are mainly read by white audiences rather than by Negroes.

An interesting consideration of the six Negro organizations is that the least aggressive of them, namely the N.A.A.C.P. and The Urban League, are becoming more aggressive. They are trying to prove to the Negro people that their leadership is as willing to go all out as their competitors. On the other hand, the more aggressive organizations are quieting down.

Dr. Martin Luther King, for instance, can boast that he has been in jail 13 times. For example, the N.A.A.C.P. claims that 50% of those arrested in the Greensboro sit-ins have been their people. The N.A.A.C.P. is worried that Martin Luther King's S.C.L.C. will become a competitive national organization composed of individuals rather than affiliates and thus in direct competition with them.

The most influential Negro businessman is John H. Johnson who publishes Ebony, Jet and Tan with a combined circulation of one million six hundred thousand, almost completely Negro.

WHO WILL BE THE NEW LEADERS?

There is a true need for a new leader of the Negro people. Some journalists have put forth Whitney J. Young of the Urban League as the logical candidate. However, he has one handicap as well as strength. He has close contacts with the most powerful of the white businessmen. While he can work with them, the same association can lead him to be distrusted by the Negroes themselves.

The A.F.L.-C.I.O. has already moved in to the field, according to the current stories of the S.C.L.C., with a loan, according to stories, between $160,000 and $400,000 for the bail bonds in Birmingham. This money will be coming back. It shows their realizations of the importance of being part of this movement. An analysis of some of the more violent picketing demonstrations in New York revealed competition between two ministers, both candidates for political office. If one minister were to have a particularly good day with 10 pickets throwing themselves under trucks, then his opponent will find it necessary to top this on the next day with 20 pickets.

The field is wide open. The top leadership of the future requires only:

1.) the right personality and vigor of youth
2.) ability in any of the functions necessary
3.) financial backing

THE CHOICES:

The Teamsters have the following choices on working in the Negro Civil Rights field:

PLAN A:

1.) if the five or a majority of the leaders approve the proposal made to them as outlined herein

2.) if not, Plan B or,

3.) to work with one of the six groups

a.) our first choice would be A. Philip Randolph's Negro American Labor Council on the basis that Teamster help here would be most appropriate and most effective in this particular area.

b.) this would depend on A. Philip Randolph's attitude.

4.) to explore other affiliation with other organizations

5.) to set up an operation built to Teamster's specifications and to available funds.

SAMPLE BUDGET ON A ONE YEAR BASIS, IF WASHINGTON OFFICE PLAN GOES THROUGH:

Executive secretary and expenses	$15,000
Other salaries, including assistant secretary	28,000
Estimated rent	9,000
Estimated telephone	10,000
Stationary supplies and miscellaneous postage	6,000
Travel Expenses	3,500
Public relations expenses	20,000
Unforeseen and underestimated items	8,500
TOTAL	$100,000

NECESSARY PROCEDURE FOR PLAN A:

If Plan A (the coordinated Washington office) is selected as the one with which the Teamsters should proceed, the following steps are necessary:

1.) present the proposal, enclosed herewith, as a separate memorandum to the six leaders.

2.) upon their acceptance, to plan exactly how the transfer of the funds for its support will be accomplished.

3.) selection of an executive secretary to run it and set the entire office in operation.

4.) a reasonable time for such an undertaking would be 60 to 90 days.

SUBSTITUTE PLAN B:

The question is not whether the Teamsters should play a role in the Civil Rights struggle, but how much of a role.

If Plan A doesn't go through there here are substitute plans.

One of the most inexpensive ways of playing a role would be to supply the "seed money" for the United Emancipation Fund.

The Fund would be a nationwide effort to raise money for the following purposes:

a.) vote registration
b.) job training
c.) organization
d.) jail bonds and legal defenses
e.) contributions to other organizations in the field, either who assist in this fund-raising or whose work is considered important by a board of trustees.

WHY A UNITED EMANCIPATION FUND AT THIS TIME?

As a supplement to the year-round fund drives by the other organizations in the field because:

1.) it could serve to free many of the most effective Negro Civil Rights groups from spending their time on fund-raising for which they are entirely unequipped and enable them to spend their time in areas where they have been more successful.

2.) the fund would also represent job security for the staffs of the organizations.

3.) encourage business and industry to make sizable donations without the worry of this action boomeranging as in the case of Civil Rights groups to whom they usually contribute funds causing them embarrassment by getting involved in violence or other unpopular subsequent actions.

4.) most of the funds being raised are for money already spent or being spent. The United Emancipation Fund would, in effect, serve as a resource for emergencies.

BUDGET:

$25,000 would be minimum with $50,000 as maximum. This money would be used for:

s.) benefits

b.) T.V. appeals

c.) motion pictures

d.) other means of raising money

Maely Daniele Dufty is currently in charge of fund raising for A. Philip Randolph's "March On Washington." She has raised money for CORE, N.A.A.C.P. and S.C.L.C. and many other Negro groups through the years. Mrs. Dufty has agreed to take charge of the fund raising in the areas in which she has been most successful for many years.

Her service would serve as a guarantee to the Negro leaders who know of her honesty and effectiveness in the past, that every cent taken in by the fund would be used to the best advantage of the Negro cause.

A more detailed budget would be submitted for whatever amount is approved.

If it is the wish of the Teamsters to advance the money as a loan, instead of a grant, there is every guarantee that the money could be recouped from the first monies taken in the fund raising efforts.

THE DIAGNOSIS:

To prepare plans for aiding the Negro Civil Rights fight a diganosis of what has happened to date would be helpful.

One experienced person in the field points out, "after all the sit-ins, sleep-ins, marching and praying and jailing, only 2,000 additional jobs have been opened up." This is a figure issued by the organizations and probably high.

In Chicago in 1951, 26 Negroes were admitted to apprentice training. By 1961, this number had not been increased by a single trainee.

The fairly hungry and often corrupt Negro press has helped to conceal these facts.

When a five-and-dime chain store integrated 187 stores, New York Negro papers accepted an ad from the chain claiming full integration though it was well known that the five-and-dime still had more than 200 stores to go.

When the Negro leadership has to decide which should have precedence, a fight for school integration or a fight to take advantage of the constitutional rights to vote, the leadership chose school integration. This, in spite of the fact that using the right to vote would have helped change the political and economic problems, thus helping to solve the secondary issues.

School integration, after all, was more dramatic and easier to publicize.

The Negro leadership is preoccupied with proving their militancy. The Stork Club was picketed several years ago for discrimination. One

Diagnosis, cont'd.

bread company in the New York area in 1962 hired their first six Negro salesmen. The loss of the Negro patrons to the Storck Club was minor and did not open any jobs. Action against discrimination in a highly competitive consumer product could have brought about many jobs.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF TEAMSTERS

1641 SO. KINGSHIGHWAY
ST. LOUIS 10, MO.

ST. LOUIS
NOrmandy 4-9300

DETROIT
WOodward 3-8750

J. R. HOFFA
International Director

July 31, 1963

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Tucker, Raymond R. (Mayor
X

Mr. H.J. Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave. N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed I am forwarding to you a letter from Local 970 with reference to their outstanding loan in the amount of $1,785.00 which you wrote Mr. Conklin and they are currently advising that they will begin with August, 1963 to pay $100.00 per month until this obligation is paid off.

I am also enclosing a letter from the Mayor's Office of St. Louis for your attention.

Fraternally yours,

C.P. Chuckray

C.P. Chuckray, Comptroller
Central Conference of Teamsters

CPC:nb

Enc.

From Mayor Raymond R. Tucker
Room 200, City Hall
MAin 1-5560, STAtion 200

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: JULY 29, 1963

Mayor Raymond R. Tucker today announced the appointment of the Saint Louis Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity.

As Co-Chairmen, Mayor Tucker named Thomas H. Eliot, Chancellor of Washington University, and the Very Reverend Paul C. Reinert, President of Saint Louis University.

The Members from the field of organized labor are:

Larry Connors, Directing Business Representative, District 9, International Association of Machinists;

Al DiFrospero, Director, Eastern Missouri, Arkansas, Illinois Area, Communications Workers of America;

Edwin D. Dorsey, Vice President, Teamsters Joint Council 13;

Oscar A. Ehrhardt, Secretary-Treasurer, Saint Louis Labor Council, AFL-CIO;

Arthur A. Hunn, President, Saint Louis Building and Construction Trades Council;

Louis J. Reischen, Executive Secretary, Retail Store Employees Local #655.

Representatives of the Negro Community are:

Leo Bohanon, Executive Director, Urban League of Saint Louis;

State Senator Theodore D. McNeal, Vice-President, Saint Louis Division, Negro American Labor Council, Vice-President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters;

Mrs. Charles Oldham, Vice Chairman, Saint Louis Committee of Racial Equality;

Reverend Amos Ryce, Pastor, Lane Tabernacle CME Church;

State Representative James P. Troupe, Representative, United Steelworkers of America;

Margaret Bush Wilson, President, Missouri State Branches, National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People.

Commission members from business and industry are:

Donald Danforth, Chairman of the Board, Ralston-Purina Company;

Stanley Goodman, President, Famous-Barr Company;

I. E. Millstone, President, Millstone Construction Company;

William R. Orthwein, Jr., Vice President, and Member of the Board of Directors, McDonnell Aircraft Corporation;

Frederic M. Peirce, President, General American Life Insurance Company;

Charles H. Sommer, President, Monsanto Chemical Company.

Mayor Tucker stated he was calling a first organizational meeting of the Commission on Friday, August 2, at 4 p.m., at his office.

"I am delighted that men and women of the stature of the Commission members have accepted this vital assignment," the Mayor stated.

The Mayor indicated that the Commission would work with the Saint Louis Council on Human Relations, and that he was assigning Frank Campbell, Executive Secretary of the Council on Human Relations to serve as staff secretary to the Commission.

"The Commission will undertake a continuing and active program for the expansion of equal employment opportunity," the Mayor elaborated. "Its work may be implemented by the use of subcommittees which can draw more widely upon the resources and talents of the community."

##################

JOINT COUNCIL OF TEAMSTERS No. 13

1641 SO. KINGSHIGHWAY • ST. LOUIS 10, MISSOURI

TELEPHONE: MOHAWK 4-9500

H. J. GIBBONS
INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEE

Affiliated With International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America

July 1, 1963

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
Jfc 13
Tucker, Raymond R. (Mayor)

Honorable Raymond R. Tucker, Mayor
of St. Louis, Missouri
City Hall
St. Louis, Missouri

Deer Mayor Tucker:

I have notified Mr. H. J. Gibbons, President of Teamsters Joint Council No. 13 of your invitation to attend a meeting on July 3, 1963 at 10:00 a.m. in your office, which will also be attended by other St. Louis labor executives on the subject of equal employment opportunities and I wish to express his regret that unfortunately because of the busy travel schedule, Mr. Gibbons has set up for himself, it is impossible for him to scarrange his schedule to attend this very important meeting.

However, he has designated Mr. Edwin D. Dorsey, Vice-President of Teamatmrs Joint Council No. 13, to attend in his behalf, this meeting to be held in your office.

Yours very truly,

C. P. Chuckray

C. P. Chuckray, Comptroller
TEAMSTERS JOINT COUNCIL NO. 13

CPC/pb
cc: H. J. Gibbons
E. D. Dorsey

New York Herald Tribune Tuesday, July 30, 1963

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X
X

Teamsters vs. Rights Pickets

By Joel Seldin
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

The New York Teamsters lashed out yesterday at civil rights picketing of construction sites and the politicians who indorse it.

The union branded it an "absurdity" and demagoguery" to promise Negroes jobs at a time when state employment is deteriorating.

Rejecting the Negro organizations in the forefront of the "jobs now" picketing, John J. O'Rourke, president of Teamster Joint Council 16, said the truck drivers will work with only those civil rights leaders it deems both "militant and responsible." He identified as part of this acceptable group A. Philip Randolph, Dr. Martin Luther King, State Sen. James L. Watson, D., Man., and Harlem Democratic leaders and City Councilman J. Raymond Jones.

Significantly missing from his list were any members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, or any of the local councils, headed by ministers, that have concentrated pickets at building sites.

Reached for comment, Mr. Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council, denied that he had any disagreement over policy with the other Negro leaders.

Mr. O'Rourke's declaration, that his men will not "ally ourselves with frustrated malcontents who get emotional kicks by throwing themselves in front of trucks chauffeured by Teamster members," may be the signal for the most critical phase of the civil rights movement.

Civil rights leaders still now be confronted by a basic fact that has frustrated government officials and AFL-CIO leaders for all the years they have been fighting Teamster power—that it is almost impossible to set up effective picketing in many industrial situations without Teamster help.

If the civil rights leaders can overcome this, the government and labor leaders will be interested to learn how. It is more likely, however, that the Negro leaders will have to negotiate some position on employment acceptable to the drivers.

In his statement, which was accompanied by another of the statistical analyses of the state's economic woes

UNION REJECTS THEM

that the Teamsters have been pushing for years, Mr. O'Rourke hinted at a possible basis for an accommodation with the Negro leaders. He said:

"It is a patent absurdity and evil political demagoguery to promise justified and necessary redress to Negroes in the face of a 23,000 increase in unemployment this year over the 442,000 in 1962."

The key words are "justified and necessary redress," indicating that the union is willing to recognize the need for some extra privileges for Negroes to make up for the long history of racial discrimination. Other construction—trades unions have been willing so far to promise only equal treatment for Negroes in the future, denying they have practiced any discrimination in the past.

Mr. O'Rourke could not be reached for amplification of the "redress" he would consider justified, but Nicholas M. Kisberg, legislative director of Joint Council 16, said:

"I would support a special appropriation to be used exclusively for the 50 Negro youngsters who scored highest on, but could not pass, the next entrance examination at the Bronx High School of Science. Let us provide as many teachers or anything else that is necessary to make sure that in the next year those 50 kids all pass."

As to employment for Negroes, however, Mr. Kisberg said: "Only a massive boost to the economy, with the state and Federal government joining hands, can deal with that problem. Labor must organize politically to elect people who will vote for tax cuts and public works programs three times bigger than anything contemplated now."

The union's statistics showed that New York State unemployment was 405,000 in the first half of 1963, an increase of 5.2 per cent over the same period of 1962. They also showed that for each of the first six months of this year unemployment was higher than in the same month in 1962.

In addition to the worsening unemployment, the figures showed that, contrary to the national pattern, employment in New York has been falling. While national employment in 1963's first half rose 1.3 per cent, New York's declined .08 per cent.

"Even this relatively small decline in total employment is a disaster when weighted against the challenge of creating hundreds of thousands of new jobs," Mr. O'Rourke said.

The Teamster leader also noted that in a study of personal income in the first quarter of 1963, the national growth rate was 4.8 per cent, while in New York it was 3.2 per cent.

Within this pattern, he said, the industry hardest hit "by the minor recession we are now in" is ——— ———. For the first quarter, he said, the state's index of construction activity was 9.7 per cent below the same period of 1962.

His union, Mr. O'Rourke announced, will co-operate with "the bomb throwers who have infiltrated and captured large sections of the civil rights movement."

Mr. O'Rourke's position put him at variance, again, with the national leadership of his union. Harold J. Gibbons, executive vice-president of the Teamsters and right-hand man to Teamster president James R. Hoffa is a board member of CORE.

In this case, however, the split is probably more a reflection of the trade-union backgrounds involved, than any difference over the national leadership's controversial policies.

Mr. Hoffa and Mr. Gibbons are products of the Teamsters' activities among warehousemen, which was more along industrial than craft-union lines. Mr. O'Rourke's home local consists of concrete ready-mix, excavation and building materials drivers, and is basically a construction-industry union, committed to the strict adherence to seniority that marks the building trades.

"There is no distinction," he said. "We are all united in the civil rights revolution to tear down every vestige of race bias in employment conditions of Negro workers. One of the most important developments in the civil rights revolution is that the Negro leadership is united in the prosecution of the goals, which are 'freedom and equality now.'"

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
_x
x

STATEMENT BEFORE

JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5

STATEMENT BY

SIDNEY ZAGRI, LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS,

CHAUFFEURS, WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS

H.R. 7152

H.R. 3139

July 24, 1963

On behalf of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and its 1,700,000 Teamster members consisting of all races, creeds, and nationalities, General President Hoffa and the General Executive Board, I welcome this opportunity to discuss with this Committee of the Congress H.R. 7152 and H.R. 3139.

We believe that the times call for a Civil Rights Act more in keeping with the needs of the disenfranchised minorities than either the Administrationor the Republican proposals.

H.R. 7152 proposes very little new and attempts to do very little; and what little it attempts to do is not supported by mandatory powers inherent in the bill. Instead, you are requested to give a number of discretionary powers to an Attorney General deeply involved in the pre-election action strategy of his political party. The bill is glaringly lacking in adequate enforcement powers, leaving the Negro to the mercies of the local police and economic intimdiation and coercion. In two titles of the bill, the Administration is seeking statutory status for that which it already has power to do under executive order. In fact, an analysis of the Administration's failure to use its executive authority in a massive attack on the problem of discrimination raises the question of buck-passing to the Congress. We shall examine this hesitant, limited, loosely-drafted bill in detail. We shall make suggestions for its reconstruction and improvement. Finally, we shall suggest that all civil rights legislation must be backed up by a massive attack upon America's number one problem -- unemployment.

CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE TEAMSTERS UNION

Here we wish to make 3 points briefly. They will serve to emphasize to the Committee why we had aninterest in testifying here today.

(1) There is no discrimination within the Teamsters Union against any member on the grounds of race, religion or national background.

(2) The Teamsters Union, through its non-partisan political arm, DRIVE, has assisted its minority group members in securing their political rights.

(3) General President Hoffa has effectively eliminated regional differentials and established a uniform scale, uniform grievance machinery, which has been uniformly applied to all members in every part of the country, whether they be White, Negro, Mexican, or American Indian.

ABSENCE OF DISCRIMINATION WITHIN THE TEAMSTERS UNION

Often times, non-discrimination clauses in collective agreements are mere platitudes often used by large corporations to gain immunity from specific performance of non-discrimination under government contract. What is really important is the enforcement machinery that gives meaning to these clauses.

Yes, the Teamsters Union has a Constitutional provision against discrimination; non-discrimination clauses in hundreds of contracts but what is important is the carrying out of this policy in daily practice.

What does the record show?

(1) No segregated locals

The last vestige of segregated locals disappeared in March 1962 when the General Executive Board authorized the Director of the Southern Conference of Teamsters to merge separate Negro and White locals, even in some instances where Negroes wanted to keep segregated Locals.

(2) Over 200,000 Teamster Negro members constituting 20% of all Negroes in organized labor, many occupying skilled and semi-skilled jobs, protected under uniform seniority clauses enforced by grievance machinery uniformly applied.

(3) To assure that non-discrimination clauses in

Teamster contracts would not be window-dressing, General President Hoffa circulated the International Harvesters agreement with 27 Teamster Locals, including such Southern Locals as Teamsters Local Union 327 in Nashville, Tenn., and Teamsters Local Union 968 in Houston, Texas, urging the adoption of such clauses and the establishment of administrative machinery to assure their effectiveness.

I am happy to report that on July 22, 1963 --just two days ago, the Western Conference of Teamsters, an organization of over 400,000 members convened in their biennial convention in Los Angeles voted to establish a Democratic Rights Committee for the purpose of enforcing equal job opportunities in all Teamster Locals in the Western Conference.

This is consistent with the tradition of other Teamster Locals, such as Teamster Local 688 in St. Louis, which established a Democratic Rights Committee in 1951, which has been functioning ever since to insure intra-union democracy, as well as act as a watch-dog in the community in the area of human rights.

(4) Training Programs. Recognizing that equality of opportunities often begins with the opportunity to receive training, Teamsters Local 657 in San Antonio, Texas, performed an invaluable service in training Mexican American migrant workers and others for semi-skilled and skilled jobs in the jurisdiction of that Teamster Local.

Albert Fuentes, who is the State Executive Secretary of PASO, the political organization of Spanish-speaking peoples in Southwest stated:

> "In South Texas the Latin American people have the problems that the Negroes have in the South; we have job discrimination and violation of civil rights due to the fact that we are Latin American and have Latin American surnames. We have found it easy to work with the Teamsters Union because in our part of the state, we find the Teamsters Union to be the only union completely integrated and completely free of any segregation."

(5) The Protection of Minority members by Teamster contracts.

Teamster contracts stress three important aspects of job equality:

A. The right to get a job on the basis of one's ability without discrimination,

B. The right to fair and equal treatment on the job, and

C. Protection against discharge without just cause.

As a result of Teamsters' non-discrimination policy, master contracts, and the principal of equal pay for equal work, the Teamsters member in the South, whether he be black, white or Mexican receives the same pay and has the same opportunity as does the Teamster member doing the same work in the North, East, or West. For the first time in history, under General President Hoffa's leadership, we have wiped out regional differential, established a national minimum and inserted uniform grievance procedures and machinery in all of our contracts, which provisions are uniformly applied to the entire Teamsters' membership.

If there is any discrimination in the Teamsters Union -- in an organization of 1,700,000 people, there is bound to be -- it is mainly to the hiring practices of the employer -- which is no longer a matter over which the union can assume any responsibility under Taft-Hartley. Any legislation imposing responsibility on the Union must provide corresponding authority to execute the result.

TITLE VII

COMMISSION ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

We will discuss the last title first, since, in my opinion, it deals with the most significant problem in the whole area of civil rights.

Economic equality must precede social equality to make it meaningful.

As President Kennedy stated in his June 19th message:

> "There is little value in a Negro's being admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has no cash in his pocket and no job."

The other day I asked a cab driver in Washington if he had a choice as to what he could achieve as a result of the struggle for civil rights, what would he ask for. His answer was very simple -- "a better job."

Here in Washington the rights for which people have been marching in Cambridge and Greensboro are already achieved. Here the rights which lead people, even school children, to face imprisonment have already been won. In Washington, D. C., a Negro can ride anywhere in a bus, receive service at any bar or restaurant, can use any tennis court or gulf course, can vote in a primary with the same freedom as any White man

Yet, who would say that there is less unrest, less racial tension, less danger of social eruption in Washington than in the communities of the South. We who live here know better than that.

Job discrimination in private industry in the Washington metropolitan area costs more than $300,000 annually, according to the Director of the U. S. Employment Service for the District.

The Board of Trustees of the National Urban League urging a crash program to close up the gap between the conditions

of the Negro and White citizen warned that:

> "The current demonstrations in the South by colored citizens seeking elementary and fundamental rights are mild in comparison with those on the verge of taking flame in the tinder-box of racial unrest in the Northern cities."

In the teeming Negro ghettoes of the North, as in Washington. D. C., struggling with the problems of automation, overcrowding and discrimination are reaching the breaking point. This seething unrest may be portrayed even more dramatically by hard core facts. What does the civil rights gap between the White and Negro population consist of? Income-wise the Negro family earns an average of $3.223 as compared with $5,835 for White, a gap of 45%. Since the 1952 the gap has increased by 3%.

The unemployment rate in 1962 for non-white, semi-skilled workers was 12% as compared to 6.9% for white persons. In the 14-19 years group, unemployed 12% for Whites and 24% for non-Whites. The disparity between Whites and Non-Whites among the unemployed is getting greater. The Non-white unemployment rate was 60% higher than for Whites in the period 1947-49. It has been consistently twice as high in each of the years 1954-62. This is explainable in part because the majority of Non-White workers are in the unskilled and service occupations while machines are taking over the work which used to be performed manually.

One of every 6 Negro dwelling units in the nation is dilapidated, obsolete, or otherwise substandard as compared to one in thirty-two dwellings for Whites.

These ugly and dangerous figures of growing disparities can be explained due primarily to three factors:

(1) Present shortage of jobs in the economy as a whole for all workers,

(2) Non-Whites are usually less qualified for various kinds of work because of discrimination and denial of equal education opportunities.The unequal educational opportunity is

reflected in the higher degree of illiteracy among Negroes. About 1/3 of 3 million adults who cannot read or write in this country are non-white.

(3) The third reason for this great disparity is the harsh, cruel fact of discrimination. The fact that men and women who are well-qualified are denied the right to work because of the color of their skin.

The magnitude of this problem is staggering. Its solution may be found primarily in terms of more jobs for all citizens through a total expansion of the economy. However, the disparities, the discrmination, the teeming tensions will not wait for a total solution of these problems.

In the face of all of this the Administration is offering Title VII which is nothing more than window-dressing, nothing more than granting legislative status to the President' Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Negro leadership has justifiably little faith of Title VII's producing anything more than superficial and token approach to the problem of jobs. A detailed record of the performance of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity will reveal that the Committee has been used primarily as a political instrument to get favorable releases in the press to get Negro votes on the one hand and to callously disregard the needs of 1,700,000 Teamsters and many thousands who may some day work in the Teamsters jurisdiction by rejecting the offer of the Teamsters Union to cooperate with the Committee and to meet with its staff to bring the Teamsters under "Plans for Progress."

On April 6, 1962, in an appraisal of the first year of operation of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, the NAACP stated:

> "The administration has relied for favorable publicity on a superficial approach called 'Plans for Progress.' The so-called 'Plans for Progress' -- voluntary agreements entered into by a few large corporations -- may yield high returns in press notices but only superficial and token results for Negro workers in new job opportunities. The 'Plans For Progress' have not produced the large scale job opportunities for Negro workers in new job opportunities that have been so long denied them. It is our experience that major U. S. Government contractors operating vast multi-plant enterprises regard the signing of a 'Plan for Progress' as a way of securing immunity from real compliance with the anti-discrimination provision of their government contract. An analysis of the status of Negro workers in companies that signed the 'Plans for Progress' fully sustains this view. We believe that the 'Plans for Progress' approach is simply a euphemish for what in previous administrations was called 'voluntary compliance.'"

Mr. Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP charged the Administration with "managing the employment reports" in his recent testimony before the Advisory Committee of the Civil Rights Commission in Washington, D. C. He stated:

". . .there is more press agentry than progress regarding Negro advancement in federal agencies. Based upon our experience we are forced to agree with the statement of Mr. Adrian Roberts, Vice President of the American Federation of Government Employees in the Washington area, as reported in the March 5, 1963 issue of the WASHINGTON STAR, who charged that Federal agencies have manipulated statistical data to give a misleading impression that they are doing something about ending discrimination in the hiring and promotion of Negroes. Mr. Roberta, a career official of the U. S. Department of Labor testified before the Subcommittee on Equal Employment of the District of Columbia Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Committee and atated that: 'Citizens in the District of Columbia area who believe in the fundamental concepts of democracy are impatient with the continuous stream of platitudes in public speeches and agency news releases on the subject of equal employment opportunities.

"They resent the manipulation of statistical data on Negro employment in an effort to show dramatic progress . . . However, when a true accounting is taken of where we are and where we ought to be, it is clear that there is need for 'full speed ahead.'"

At this time I would like to offer for the record a portfolio of correspondence between General President Hoffa and various officials and staff members of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, which provides irrefutable testimony to the fact that the President's Committee turned its back on repeated offers of the Teamsters Union to cooperate and support the policies and goals of the Committee because it was motivated by political animus toward the Teamsters Union. For the record, I would simply like to summarize the correspondence.

On April 10, 1962, General President Hoffa wrote Vice President Lyndon Johnson, Chairman of the Committee, pledging support of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to the worh of the Committee. In addition, an early conference with a staff member of the Committee was requested to develop a "plan for progress" to cover the Teamsters Union.

On April 17, 1962, John G. Feild, Executive Director, replied to Mr. Hoffa's letter and stated that the Committee had the matter under consideration and would be in communication with the Teamsters Union.

Three weeks later, May 11, 1962, another letter was written by James R. Hoffa, this time to Jerry R. Holleman, then Vice Chairman of the President's Committee, once again requesting that an early conference be set up to include the Teamsters Union under the "plans for progress."

On June 1, 1962, General President Hoffa wrote a letter to the President in which he enclosed copies of the correspondence between himself, Vice President Johnson, and Mr.Holleman. In

thia letter, General President Hoffa again requested an early conference with a staff member of the Committee to develop a "plan for progress" to cover the Teamsters Union.

On June 5, 1962, John G. Feild, Executive Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, wrote to Mr. Hoffa acknowledging his letter of May 11th and again assured him that the Committee would be in touch with our Union in the not too distant future.

On August 6, 1962, John G. Feild, Executive Director of the President's Committee, wrote Mr. Hoffa that the Committee was continuing its plan for the development of appropriate adaptation of the "plans for progress" for trade unions. And he said that aa these plans develop, "you may be assured that you will be informed by the Committee."

On November 20, 1962, James R. Hoffa wrote Mr. Hobart L. Taylor, Executive Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, in which reference was made to the alleged statement by a newspaper reporter that Mr. Taylor gave as a reason for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters' failure to participate with a hundred national trade unions in aigning pledgea to eliminate employment discrimination was that our union had not contracted the President's Committee. The purpoae of this letter was to secure an affirmation or denial of the truth of the alleged statement to the press.

Regardless of whether the statement attributed to Mr. Taylor waa made, it was hoped that our Union would be accorded the same opportunity to cooperate with the Committee as was accorded to the AFL-CIO affiliates. Again, it was stated that if such opportunity had been accorded to the Teamsters Union, we would have signed a pledge against discrimination as long ago as April 1962. Again, we requested a conference in which a member of the President's Committee staff would meet for the purpose of executing such a

pledge by our Union.

On February 11, 1963, another letter was addressed to Mr. Taylor, in which General President Hoffa stated:

> "In the name of social justice, fair play and common decency, I request a reply to my letter of November 20, 1962.
>
> Very truly yours,
>
> /s/ James R. Hoffa
>
> James R. Hoffa
> General President"

On March 1, 1963, John G. Feild, Executive Director, acknowledged Mr. Hoffa's letter of February 11, 1963, and advised Mr. Hoffa that Mr. Taylor had requested him to inform Mr. Hoffa that the statement attributed to him with respect to the reasons for the Teamsters Union not signing a "plan for fair practices" was not accurate.

Finally, on July 3, 1963, the affair was concluded by General President Hoffa in a letter to Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson in which he stated:

> "It is by now apparent that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has decided that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters does not exist for the purpose of signing a Plan for Fair Practices. A summary reading of the enclosed correspondence makes this conclusion inescapable. In my judgment such conduct constitutes another chapter in the continuing vendetta which the Kennedy Administration is carrying out against the Teamsters Union. It is most unfortunate that in this instance such reprisal comes at the expense of a program to promote equal employment opportunity.
>
> "Hence in the light of the resistance which this Union has encountered from the President's

Committee we have decided that any further efforts would be futile . . ."

Copies of the letter were sent to: The Honorable W. Willard Wirtz, The Honorable Adam Clayton Powell, the Honorable James Roosevelt, Mr. James Farmer, Mr. James Foreman, Mr. Herbert Hill, The Reverend Martin Luther King, Mr. A. Philip Randolph.

This exchange of letters over a period of over fifteen months can lead to only one of two conclusions:

(1) The President's Committee was convinced that Teamsters Union's policies in the field of non-discrimination had reached such a stage of perfection that nothing could be accomplished for 1,700,000 workers and countless thousands who may wish to become members of the Teamsters Union by including the Teamsters Union under the 'plans for progress' which had been worked out in conjunction with itself and every other International Union in the labor movement, or

(2) Robert Kennedy's vendetta with James R.Hoffa of the Teamsters Union overshadowed the needs and the welfare of 1,700,000 Teamsters members and countless thousands yet not organized.

The Administration's rejection of the Teamsters Union's offer to cooperate in the promotion of its 'plans for progress' program marks a black page in the history of the government's efforts in the promotion of race relations in this country.

This incident also places in proper perspective the Administration's total approach to the problem of race relations:

(1) That it is politically motivated -- one that suits the personal desires, aspirations and ambitions of the Attorney General.

TITLE I

The two basic requirements of this title do not meet the basic problems of mass disenfranchisement in the South.

(1) The provision relating to a presumption of literacy based upon a 6th grade education marks a distinct step backward by the Administration in this issue. This presumption would be rebuttable, permitting clerks to challenge each Negro who seeks to register; each would become an individual court case.

In the 87th Congress, the Administration offered a bill creating a conclusive presumption of literacy based upon a 6th Grade education. The presumption of literacy should be amended to make a 6th Grade education conclusive evidence of the person's literacy. This would eliminate the requirement that a literacy test must be in writing and all the attendant difficulties such as language barriers in the case of an individual who may not have sufficient command of the English language such as Puerto Ricans in New York and Mexicans in the Southwest.

(2) When the Attorney General certifies that less than 15% of the total number of voting age persons of the same race in a voting area are registered to vote, the District Court would be authorized to appoint temporary referees to register qualified applicants in cases brought under the 1960 Civil Rights Act.

This is the Administration's proposal to solve the problem of mass disenfranchisement. In the first place, there are only 200 counties where the registration of any given race is less than 15% of that group. Secondly, this authority is not necessary under the 1960 Civil Rights Act, since the Attorney General is authorized to bring such suits as long as he believes there is a pattern of discrimination in registration.

The provision establishing the arbitrary figure of 15% raises some serious problems:

A. It is an arbitrary figure and may not withstand the Constitutionality test.

B. It does not solve the problem because the white supremists in an area could urge the registration up to 15% and forever preclude the Attorney General from bringing class suits in the area. At the present time, thereis no maximum figure which would bar the Attorney General from bringing such suits. This, in effect, provides a federal standard which would tie the Attorney General's hands in pursuing class suits essential in achieving mass registration.

C. Why is this 15% figure necessary? Has the Attorney General been confronted with any problems in establishing a pattern of discrimination in the 41 Civil Rights voting suits brought to date?

This title does not deal realistically with the basic causes of mass disenfranchisement in the South.

It fails to provide criminal sanctions to deal with the problem of police brutality and economic coercion to deprive citizens of their right to vote.

Reports of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission are replete of such interference. The most recent example of this is that of Crystal City, Texas, where the elected officials, all Mexican American Teamster members, were voted in and then physically beaten by a Texas ranger and economically dispossessed by members of the community. Albert Fuentes, who is with me today, has a detailed statement on this matter. On April 28, 1963, a telegram was sent to Attorney General Robert Kennedy calling for an investigation of civil rights violations. The tenor and substance of the telegram was as follows:

> "Texas Rangers Captain Alfred Allee has been harassing the Crystal City Council by interfering with all Council sessions. I have been arrested without a warrant, roughed up, taken into a room without my consent for over twenty minutes. Other Councilmen have been subject to the same treatment. We are in a state of fear and intimidation. We need help. It was necessary to come to San Antonio to send this message because we have reason to believe

that this message would not be accepted or sent from the telegraph office in Crystal City.

Juan Cornejo, Mayor
Reynaldo Mendoza, Mayor Pro Tem"

Since the Attorney General ignored the wire, a second telegram was sent to Robert Kennedy as follows:

"We have not heard of the final disposition of FBI investigation pursuant to civil rights violations and continuous harassment by the Texas Rangers in Crystal City of Mayor Juan Cornejo and his Council. The Texas Rangers continue to harass by constantly maintaining a survelance on the Honorable Mayor, his council Moses Falcon and Natividad Granados, leaders of Paso in Zavala County, Crystal City, Texas. We resent Texas Ranger Captain A. Y. Allee treating our people as common criminals. Please advise me immediately as to the Department of Justice's plans in protecting the rights of our people in Crystal City."

Since the time of the first telegram, suit has been filed in Federal Court, seeking injunction against the Texas Ranger who has been accused of the following:

(1) Holding the mayor in a room against his will and harassing him with threats and vile language.

(2) On a subsequent occasion, beating up the mayor, including backing him and knocking his head against the wall six times and threatening to impose greater physical harm if he were to report this type of interference to the press or any other authority.

On July 22nd, we received a telephonic report from the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice by one - Maceo Hubbard that the case had been closed since there was no federal violation involved and the proper remedy was in the state courts.

Report No. 5 of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights page 53 states:

> "The rights of federal citizenship protected by Sec. 241 include, among others, the following: . . . the right to inform the United States authorities of the violation of its laws."

The report continues:

> "Second, section 241 can also be used as a sanction for unlawful official violence perpetrated at any level of government when that violence is used as a means of depriving the victim of any one of his narrowly defined rights of Federal citizenship. . ."

I suggest that this committee make a formal request of the Department of Justice to explain on what basis the complaint was dismissed. It is quite clear that the Ranger threatened Mayor Cornejo with physical violence and, in fact, committed physical violence on his peraon because the complainant had communicated a previous assault to the Attorney General of the State of Texas and the Attorney General of the United States. Either 241 is inadequately drawn and is in need of amendment or the Attorney General is not interested in exercising his power to protect the civil rights of Mayor Cornejo - a member of the Teamstera Union.

Isn't this possibly another example of the Attorney General permitting political considerations and his personal vendetta with Mr. Hoffa to interfere with proper law enforcement?

(2) It fails to provide for sanctions in the case of vote frauds. There are a number of districts in the South where 138% of the white population is registered with less than 4% of the Negro population registered.

Albert Fuentes will testify to the fact that in Crystal City, Texas, as in all Texas communities outside of the large cities, elections are conducted in the open and without the protection of the secret ballot. He cites the case of the Baron of Duval -- who is the political boss of Duval County, Texas, who intimidated voters by threatening to cut off their pensions, unless they voted according to his instructions without the protection of the secret ballot.

Senator Ralph Yarborough speaking before a Law Day Luncheon of

the Bar Association on May 1, 1963 in San Antonio, Texas commented on the deprivation of basic constitutional rights in Crystal City in the following statement:

> "Let us advance liberty under the Law. Let there be full voter participation in elections and full governmental participation by duly elected officials after they are elected. Let Law Day be Liberty Day. A lawyer with law books is the only guardian that elected officials require. Pistoleers breathing down the necks of duly elected City Commissioners as they exercise the functions of their offices are a relic of a primitive age in Texas which should have passed away with the Frontier. Law Day should be Law Day, and mean something, something more than mere lip service."

And yet the Attorney General closed this case and passed the buck to the state courts.

In connection with fraud cases, I favorably commend section 102 of H.R. 3039; also section 103 which would direct the Bureau of Census to conduct a nationwide compilation of registration and voting statistics of every state by race, color, and national origin. This information would be most helpful in establishing patterns of discrimination as well as fraudulent registration and voting.

There is nothing in the proposed bill which makes mandatory the filing of class suits by the Attorney General wherever a pattern of discrimination may exist.

Since 1957, a total of 41 suits have been instituted by the Attorney General. In other words, 159 counties where the registration is under 15% were completely ignored by the Attorney General. Only 5 of the 50 states in the locale of these Attorney General - instigated suits, the states involved: Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia and Tennessee. The following analysis indicates that a selective filing of suits carefully avoiding Congressional districts where the incumbent was considered friendly to the administration and in some instances, filing several suits in the districts where the Congressman voted against the administration consistently. By state, the number of suits filed were as follows:

		No. of Suits filed	Year filed
Alabama	7	1	1958
Georgia	4	3	1959
Louisiana	11	4	1960
Mississippi	15	16	1961
Tennessee	4	9	1962
		9 have been filed to date in 1963	

The Congressional Quarterly of July 5, 1963 disclosed that less than 15% of potential Negro voters were actually registered in 261 counties in 60 Congressional Districts in 11 States. It is reasonable to assume that in each of these counties, various discriminatory devices have been used to keep Negro voter registration to a minimum. Yet, although 261 counties and 11 States are clearly involved, over a five-and-a-half period the Attorney General has seen fit to file suits in only 33 counties in 17 Congressional Districts in five states. In addition, two State-wide suits were filed against State voter registration procedures, one in Mississippi and one in Louisiana.

If we examine the Congressional representation in the 33 counties where, over the past 5½ years, suits have been filed by the Attorney General, we find a general pattern of representation. The incumbent Congressman is, in most cases, a man who consistently supports Conservative causes and has given minimal support to the programs of the President in 1961 and 1962.

An analysis of the voting record of the 17 Congressmen involved is shown below:

NAME OF CONGRESSMAN	NO. OF SUITS FILED IN HIS DISTRICT	CONSERVATIVE COALITION - ANTI-KENNEDY RECORD**
Alabama		
ANDREWS	2	77
GRANT	1	77
BOYKIN	1	49
SELDEN	1	82
Georgia		
FORRESTER	2	95
VINSON	2	23
Louisiana		
PASSMAN	5	69
WAGGONER	3	not available
HERBERT	1	44
MORRISON	1	49
Miaaiaaippi		
WHITTEN	6	87
COLMER	4	85
WILLIAMS	2	74
WINSTEAD	2	85
Tennessee		
EVERETT	2	44
MURRAY	2	79

**Percentage of 39 Conservative-coalition rollcalls on which the Congressman voted in AGREEMENT with the Conservative coalition.

A glance at this table indicates that Congressmen who have been embarrassed by more than two suits in their district are both opponents of the Kennedy program and, also, arch-conservatives. The voting

record of Mr. Waggoner is not available, but his stand on most matters is very close to that of Mr. Passman, his Louisiana colleague in the House.

IMPACT OF THE BOBBIE KENNEDY SUITS

Suits were filed in 33 counties in 17 Congressional Districts in Five States. with two suits-at-large in two of these same five States.

The Kennedy policing of voter intimidation and denial, over a 5½ year period represents action in 12.6% of the counties, and in 28.3% of the Congressional Districts involved.

In commenting on the areas of high incidence of voter denial, CQ had this to say: "... the States with the highest percentage of counties with less than 15% of the voting age Negroes registered were Mississippi (76 of 82), South Carolina, (26 of 46), Alabama (33 of 67) Louisiana (23 of 64), Georgia, (36 of 159) Virginia (13 of 97) and Texas (22 of 254). Scattered counties with less than 15% Negro registration were located in Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee and North Carolina.

Why were no suits filed in three of the seven States with the worst record for refusing registration to Negro voter registration down to less than 15%? Attorney General Kennedy has filed no suits in South Carolina; neither has he filed suits in Texas which is also among the seven States which (most recognizably) have a pattern of voter discrimination.

Attorney General Kennedy filed four suits in Tennessee. According to Congressional Quarterly, there are only two counties in Tennessee where a pattern of discrimination, as defined in the Administration

current civil rights bill, exists. One of these is Haywood County, where the enthusiastic and democratically-minded white folk have a 118.2% voter registration and the Negroes 4.8%; the other is Morgan County. Two suits were filed in Haywood County and non in Morgan County. However, two suits were filed in Fayette County, which is not listed by CQ as being a major offender.

Why is there such a discrepancy between the actions of the Attorney General in regard to Texas and South Carolina, on the one hand, and his actions in regard to Tennessee on the other? Again, if we look into the details of voter denial in, say, Alabama, it is surprising to find that no suits were filed in the 5th, 7th, 8th and 9th Districts. The incumbent Congressmen in these four Districts exhibit the following voting records;

Raina (5th District)	supported 46% of Kennedy bills; opposed only 5%
	supported 21% of Conservative measures; opposed 28%
Elliott (7th District)	supported 84% of Kennedy bills, opposed 8%
	Supported 26% of Conservative measures; opposed 67%
Jones (8th District)	supported 81% of Kennedy bills, opposed 19%
Huddleston (9th District)	supported 66% of Kennedy bills; opposed 19%
	supported 56% of Conservative measures; opposed 28%

On the average these four Congressmen, who were not embarrassed by civil rights suits in their Districts despite the prevailing patterns of voter discrimination there, voted for 69.2% of the Kennedy measures in 1961 and 1962 and opposed only 9.5%.

On 249 Senate rollcalls, Olin Johnston of South Carolina voted with the Kennedy supporters on 56% of the votes and against on 29%. No civil rights suits were filed in South Carolina.

The explanation for the absence of federal suits in Texas, where Mexican-Americans and Indians, as well as Negroes, are openly discriminated against, may lie in the peculiar situation of Vice President Lyndon Johnson. Lyndon Johnson is living his political life backwards, proceeding from a rigidly conservative youth to a liberal middle age while prudently keeping a foot in both camps. It would be distressing for Johnson's newly-discovered role of moral leader in the field of civil rights -- if he were to be embarassed on his home ground by civil rights suits filed from Washington.

It should be noted that no federal referee has been appointed in any one of the 41 suits.

We recommend that the bill provide for federal registrars as a more effective method of protecting the rights of the applicant seeking registration. Reapportionment of Congressmen based upon the number of people voting instead of the number registered is possible under Section 2 of the 14th Amendment. In this connection, Section 103 of H.R. 3039 calls for a compilation of registration voting statistics by the Bureau of Census, which would be most helpful.

It should also be noted that the bill is limited to federal elections and under recent Supreme Court decisions in the reapportionment cases, it is clear that Congress can legislate to protect voting rights in state as well as federal elections.

TITLE III

The key provision of this title authorizes the Attorney General to institute civil actions for school desegregation upon receipt of a complaint and a determination by him that the complainants are unable to institute legal proceedings.

This provision is defective in several respects:

(1) Fails to impose a time limit on local school boards in which they must file a plan for desegregation with the Section of Health, Education and Welfare. I commend to the committee favorably

H.R. 1766 which would impose a 180 day period in which the school board must file such a plan.

(2) The Attorney General does not have power to act independently of a complainant. This power is essential particularly in certain communities where the individual complainant would fear reprisal and, therefore, would not file a suit.

(3) The bill has no standards with reference to the period in which desegregation must take place but leaves it to the experts on the local school board. Can you imagine how much desegregation would take place under this program in Prince Edwards County?

(4) It fails to define racial imbalance which is used throughout the Title in addition to the term segregation. This defect is particularly noticeable since the Title defines "Commissioner" "desegregation" and "public schools" in terms that are commonly used and known. However the term "racial imbalance" is not a word of art nor is it a term that has a generally accepted meaning. It is therefore suggested that the term be defined wherever it appears in the Bill.

If racial imbalance refers to an imbalance created by segregated neighborhoods then I suggest that the way to proceed with that problem is to provide for legislation to desegregate housing.

The Executive Order of President Kennedy applies to only about 25% of all federal funds in the field of housing. Because the Executive Order does not apply to FHA and other loan committments previously made, it does not help a Negro who is in the market for a house that is already built. The Act is notably weak insofar as it does not even touch on this fundamental problem.

(5) If the Attorney General is authorized to institute a suit but is not required to under the language of the Bill, Section 307(a) too should be amended on line 14 as follows: the words "and directed" should be inserted after the word "authorize."

TITLE IV

The Community Relations Service, a new agency, would provide

a concilliation service which would in no way be a substitute for law enforcement but would compliment enforcement. It would perform the important function of seeking compliance by voluntary action.

Such a function could be effectively performed if it were backed up with enforcement machinery.

This agency could perform a very valuable function in assisting a community in making a transition from segregated to non-segregated faciilities.

The Director of Community Relation Service is not subject to approval of the Senate under H.R. 7152. It should have the same status as the Director of the Civil Rights Commission who is subject to Senate confirmation. Such a provision will add to independent status of the Commission and free it from White House domination.

TITLE V

Civil Rights Commission.

The Civil Rights Commission has performed an excellent educative function.

Title V, the Civil Rights Commission would extend the life of the Commission on Civil Rights for four years and authorize it to serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information and to provide advice and technical assistance to governmental and private persons and organizations. The Civil Rights Commission should be made permanent. This would give it stability which it needs to conduct a continuing operation.

TITLE II

There are four questions to be resolved in the discussion of Title II.

(1) Is legislation needed?

(2) Does legislation in this field constitute undue invasion of property rights?

(3) Does Congress have power to legislate in the area of public accommodation, and what is the extent and scope of such power?

(4) Is the proposed remedy adequate?

(1) With reference to the need of legislation in this field, the Teamsters Union is in a position to make reference to the experience of many of our members.

According to Vice President Murray W. Miller, Director of the Southern Conference of Teamsters, the Negro is excluded from over-the-road operations where over-night trips are involved because of the difficulty of finding public accommodations.

It is pointed out that the employers' failure to hire Negroes for over-the-road jobs is not due to prejudice since over 50% of the 9,000 city drivers in New Orleans, Louisiana, Atlanta, Georgia, and Houston, Texas are Negroes; and a fairly large number of checkers on the docks -- who are "straw bosses" are also Negroes.

He further points out that the city driver is more important to the employer-customer relations than the over-the-road driver. Where Negroes have been hired to fill over-the-road driving positions, as is the case in Memphis, Tennessee, no night trips are involved. This is a clear example where the absence of public accommodations does not permit the Negro equal opportunity to compete with white drivers for the same jobs.

During the month of August, motorcades of Teamster wives will be coming to Washington, D. C., to visit their Congressmen from Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Alabama and Texas.

Those busloads of women will be representative of both races. This presents the problem of finding public accommodations in the South where both races can be served.

In order to avoid humiliation and embarrassment for our Negro members' wives, it will become necessary for the buses to drive all the way through and to pack box lunches in order to make this trip possible.

Last year we had the experience of an integrated group of wives visiting the Congressmen from the Carolinas. They suffered such embarrassment because of restaurant's refusal to serve both groups, we resolved that we would never inflict this experience on our membership again.

Recently, our Southern Conference of Teamsters had a convention in Dallas, Texas. They attempted to make reservations for the delegates and their wives to attend a showing of Cleopatra. Since the theater would not permit the Negro delegates to sit with the white delegates in the orchestra, but insisted upon segregating them into the balcony, we finally called off the theater party. I could multiply instances such as this in many cities throughout the country where our members and their wives participate in bowling team competition and connot find integrated bowling alleys. Rather than have "Jim Crow" bowling teams, we have been forced to give up this type of activity which we found so helpful in building harmony and good relations among our members in our Local Unions.

(2) It has been charged that this section of the bill would extend the power of the federal government to every restaurant, store, barber shop in America. And it is alleged that this would destroy the right of freedom of association and would deny the merchant the right to decide with whom he will do business.

I do not have to burden this Committee with a recitation of the regulations passed by state and local authorities which impose limitations upon the use of property in the interest of promoting public health and safety.

I don't have to burden the Committee with examples of government grants in the form of permits, franchises, licenses, certificates of convenience or necessity which are granted by the appropriate regulating agency governing inter-state commerce.

So while there may be some interference with absolute property rights or rights of privacy, it would certainly not be unreasonable interference. The law would simply provide that a public business must in fact be open to the public -- all the public. Surely, this is no more of an intrusion on the rights of a merchant than many other regulatory matters that I have referred to.

Of course, the question of the right of privacy arises in the case of "Mrs. Murphy" the rooming house or boarding house keeper who lives in her home and rents out two or three rooms to boarders or to transients.

I have no serious objection to protecting "Mrs. Murphy's" privacy by imposing an exemption on boarding houses and rooming houses with five or less roomers, but in principle, I can see no significant distinction in that situation and the average motel which is often run by a husband and wife who also live on the premises but would be required to comply with the law. I grant that the degree of privacy in one case may be greater than in another, and if this distinction needs to be preserved, I have no objection to such an amendment.

The Administration bill seeks to solve the problem of "Mrs. Murphy" by incorporating the words "substantial" or "substantiel degree" in Section 202 (a)(3) because the word "substantial" is an ambiguous term and subject to a variety

of constructions. It has been suggested by some members of this Committee that a dollar volume limitation, such as $500,000 or $150,000 be written into the bills.

First, it should be noted that the word "substantial" or "substantially" is not used with reference to hotels, motels, or other places of business furnishing lodging but only applies to certain types of retail establishments. This difference of substantiality in one instance and not in the other would create confusion in the minds of both the traveler and the merchant. But more important than that, it would be a humiliating experience for a traveler to be turned down by an establishment that is just under the dollar volume line and thus exempt because it was not "substantial". In order to avoid this experience, the traveler would have to carry an encyclopedia and road map which would register the places that were available to him. Frankly, this is not the kind of experience which we would like to subject our members to or for that matter any human being.

It should be further noted that a dollar volume limitation such as the $150,000 limitation would exempt from the bill approximately 80-85% of all restaurants, motels, and hotels. This is according to the figures of the National Restaurant Association who estimate that of the 375,000 restaurants in the country, only 25,000 averaged more than $100,000 annually. Similar figures pertain to hotels and motels. A dollar volume limitation, such as has been suggested, would afford equal public accommodations to the wealthy Negro or other minority member, but would deprive the vast majority no protection whatsoever. A more realistic resolution of the problem of "Mrs. Murphy's" right to privacy and the needs of millions of American citizens who are members of minority groups, is to impose a limitation on the size of the establishment in terms of the rooms rented, rather than some arbitrary limitation, such as the volume of business.

I prefer this solution of establishing this limitation on the size of the establishment in terms of the rooms rented, rather than some arbitrary limitation, such as the volume of business done. According to the National Restaurant Association -- of 375,000 restaurants in the country, 25,000 averaged more than $100,000 annually; 300,000 had a gross less than $50,000, and 25,000 grossed less than $100,000. On the criteria of suggesting the $100,000 cut-off, over 80% of all restaurants would be excluded from the coverage of the act. Similar percentages pertain to hotels and motels.

SCOPE AND EXTENT OF CONGRESS' POWER TO LEGISLATE
IN THE AREA OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

In the course of discussion over the pending equal accommodations bill, the question has arisen as to whether the Fourteenth Amendment or the Commerce Clause, or both, should serve as the Constitutional basis upon which the Congress should enact legislation outlawing racial discrimination in places of public accommodation. Such question has raised the issue of Congress' power to legislate in the area of public accommodations as well as the scope and extent of such power.

Since the Supreme Court has held that Congress may rely upon more than one power to justify this legislative power to act, I find no need to make a choice between the commerce clause and the Fourteenth Amendment as a basis for Congressional power in the area of public accommodations. In fact, I would prefer to have two strings to my bow. With this in mind, we have prepared the following legal analysis of Congress' power to act under both the commerce clause and the Fourteenth Amendment.

With respect to the Congressional exercise of the commerce power, arising under Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, as well as the authority "/t/o make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers," the experience of labor unions under federal enactments regulating the conduct of labor-management relations as well as the internal affairs of unions offers perhaps the best example of how extensively Congress has been willing and able to legislate under its commerce power.

The year 1935 was very much like 1963 in terms of its prevalent labor-management unrest and strife, which, although distinct from the racial unrest which has arisen in the course of the Negroes' recently reinvigorated struggle for equality, stemmed also from a feeling of inequality, albeit the inequality in bargaining power which existed between employer and worker. Having possessed the wisdom to recognize the deleterious effect upon commerce and national life which resulted from "/t/be denial of employers of the right of employees to organize and the refusal by employers to accept the procedure of collective bargaining."[1] Congress in that year enacted the Wagner Act.[2] Moreover, Congress considered the need for legislation granting employees "the right to self-organization, to form, join or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activites for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection,"[3] to be so pervasive that it chose to grant such rights in the broadest manner possible under the Commerce Clause.[4]

1 49 Stat. 449
2 49 Stat. 449, et. seq.
3 49 Stat. 456
4 The limits of the National Labor Relations Act are coextensive with those of the commerce clause. NLRB v. Fainblatt, 306 US 601; Santa Cruz Fruit Packing Co. v. NLRB, 303 US 453. Consolidated Edison Co. v. NLRB, 305 US 197.

Hence, in Sections 2 (6) and 2 (7) of the Act. Congress defined the terms "commerce" and "affecting commerce" as follows:

> (6) The term "commerce" means trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, or communication among the several States, or between the District of Columbia or any Territory of the United States and any State or other Territory, or between any foreign country and any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, or within the District of Columbia or any Territory, or between points in the same State but through any other State or any Territory or the Diatrict of Columoia or any foreign country.
>
> (7) The term "affecting commerce" means in commerce, or burdening or obstructing commerce or the free flow of commerce, or having led or tending to lead to a labor dispute burdening or obstructing commerce or the free flow of commerce.

And in Section 10(a) of the Act, Congress declared that the National Labor Relations Board was empowered "to prevent any person from engaging in any unfair labor practice affecting commerce."

The full breadth and scope of the National Labor Relations Act was made clear by the Supreme Court in 1944 in Polish National Alliance v. NLRB, 332 US 643, in an opinion written by perhaps the greatest judicial defender of our federal ayatem of government, Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter. In Polish National Alliance, Justice Frankfurter speaking for the Court declared:

> Congress has explicitly regulated not merely transactions or goods in interstate commerce but activities which in isolation might be deemed to be merely local but in the interlacings of business across state lines adversely affect such commerce . . .
>
> . . .Whether or not practices may be deemed by Congress to affect interstate commerce is not to be determined by confining judgment to the effect of the activities immediately before the National Labor Relations Board. Appropriate for judgment is the fact that the immediate situation is representative of many others throughout the country, the total

> incidence of which if left unchecked may well become far-reaching in its harm.[5]

In a concurring opinion in the same case, Mr. Justice Black declared:

> The doctrine that Congress may provide for regulation of activities not themselves interstate commerce, but merely "affecting" such commerce, rests on the premise that in certain fact situations the Federal government may find that regulation of purely local and intrastate commerce is necessary and proper to prevent injury to interstate commerce.[6]

The Supreme Court has since shown no tendency to narrow its pervasive concept of the range of businesses in which a labor dispute would be regarded as "affecting commerce."[7]

More recently Congress again chose to act under its commerce power to remedy what it believed to be serious abuses in the labor-management area. While unions disputed and still dispute the actual need for such legislation and while Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has since declared with respect to the Landrum-Griffin Act that "If you were to ask how many violations of the Act have been found, I suppose the answer might well be: Not enough to justify the enactment by the administration of that legislation," the fact remains that Congress saw the enactment of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959[8] as being within its commerce power.

---

5 322 US 648
6 322 US 652
7 See NLRB v. Denver Building and Construction Trades Council, 341 US 675 (1951); Howell Chevrolet Co. v. NLRB, 346 US 482 (1953); Amalgamated Meat Cutters v. Fairlawn Meat, Inc., 359 US 20 (1957); Reliance Fuel Oil v. NLRB, 371 US 224 (1963).
8 73 Stat 519 et seq.

And despite the high sounding language of the "Declaration of Findings, Purposes, and Policy" contained in that Act it is obvious that Congress, by enacting Landrum-Griffin, was legislating in the area of the internal affairs of organizations which in contemplation of law are private voluntary associations. Hence, for example, the Act guarantees certain rights to union members, directs the manner in which union elections must be conducted, establishes standards of internal behavior for union officers, requires detailed reporting of internal union financial affairs, disqualifies certain individuals from holding union office notwithstanding the desires of union members and makes criminal certain internal union practices.

Such regulation of non-commercial, not-for-profit, private voluntary associations, as are labor union, is on its face certainly remote from "Commerce . . . among the several States . . ." Yet, Congress found that the enactment of Landrum-Griffin was necessary "to eliminate or prevent improper practices on the part of labor organizations, employers, labor relations consultants ". . .which. . ." have the tendency or necessary affect of burdening or obstructing commerce by (1) impairing the efficiency, safety, or operation of the instrumentalities of commerce; (2) occurring in the current of commerce; (3) materially affecting, restraining, or controlling the flow of raw materials or manufactured or processed goods into or from the channels of commerce, or the prices of such materials or goods in commerce, or (4) causing diminution of employment and wages in such volume as substantially to impair or disrupt the market for goods flowing into or from the channels of commerce."

On the basis of these and other findings, Congress did not hesitate to regulate under Landrum-Griffin matters of internal union concern which in and of themselves seem tenuously related to interstate commerce. Moreover, to the extent that it has been

argued that a public accomodations law would interfere with rights of property it should be noted that the Landrum-Griffin Act clearly constitutes a compromise with the first amendment right to freedom of association.[9] Yet Congress was more than willing to balance what it found to be the public interest in the regulation of internal union affairs against the principle of free association. And, it is well settled that such legislative findings, made after investigation, are binding on the courts.[10]

In addition, it is apparent that in neither the Labor-Management Relations Act nor in the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act did Congress deem it necessary or advisable to limit these enactments to matters having a substantial effect or impact upon commerce. On this basis the pending administration bill is subject to considerable criticism in that it seeks to withhold the full power of Congress over commerce by the use of the term "substantial". It cannot be argued that the scope of the need for equal accommodations legislation is any less than that which has produced the existing legislation in the labor-management area. Hence, it is imperative that the term "substantial" be deleted from the pending legislation and that its scope be made coextensive with the full reach of the commerce power.

It would appear from this analysis of congressional action in the labor-management sphere that both Congress and the courts concur in the view expressed by Mr. Justice Rutledge that "We do not yet know how to define commerce with broadly inclusive words or precision. We only know how tochip out the definition bit by bit,"[11] and that "A democratic nation must have a government endowed with powers sufficient to meet its external and internal needs. These today necessarily must be large."[12]

---

9 Cf. Bates v. City of Little Rock, 355 US 313 (1957); NAACP v. Alabama, 357 US 449 (1958).

10 Communist Party v. Subversive Activities Control Board, 367 US 1, 93-95.

11 Rutledge, A Declaration of Legal Faith 36 (1947).

12 Id. at 76.

Congress surely recognizes the "internal need" for federal legislation providing for equal public accommodations. And that it possesses the power to enact an extensive and far reaching measure in this area is obvious from the above analysis of its legislation in the labor-management area.

That the denial of equal accommodations in restaurants, theatera, hotels, motels, amusement parks and other places of public accommodation impedes, disrupts, inhibits and interferes with the free flow of commerce is self-evident.

First, sucn denial impedes and adversely affects the interatate travel of citizens whether for business or pleasure. That auch travel by persons is "commerce" within the meaning of the Commerce Clause is settled beyond question. [13]

Second, such denial affects and impedes the distribution and aale of goods and commodities in commerce in that certain persons are interfered with in their ability to buy and sell such commodities by reaaon of racial barriers.

In summary then, it is abundantly clear that the "Commerce Clause" and the "necessary and proper" clause offer a solid foundation upon which equal accommodation legislation may be enacted by the Congreas.

A second but no less worthy basis upon which an equal accommodation law should be enacted is pursuant to the congressional power authorized in Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

It has been argued that in light of the Civil Rights cases of 1883[14] which held the Civil Rights Act of 1875[15] to be unconatitutional, Congress is without authority to enact an equal accommodations law based upon its Fourteenth Amendment powers.

---

13 See Edwards v. California, 314 US 160 (1941).

14 109 US 3.

15 18 Stat. 335-36.

Such a view however ignores 80 years of constitutional development in which many outmoded constitutional doctrines have been discarded by the Supreme Court on the basis of changed economic and social circumstances. And just as a unanimous 1954 Supreme Court overruled the infamous "separate but equal" doctrine[16] of Plessy v. Ferguson[17] so might a 1963 Court decide that the 1883 decision is of no further vitality as a precedent and thereby revive the farsighted dissent of Mr. Justice Harlan in the Civil Rights cases. It should be recalled that the memory of Mr. Justice Harlan was similarly honored in 1954 when his dissent in Plessy was fully vindicated in the school desegregation cases.

Moreover, it is only by the exercise of an assumed power that Congress may ever determine whether such power actually exists. And particularly where congressional authority is clear under the Commerce Clause, for Congress to add the Fourteenth Amendment as a second string to its legislative bow hardly constitutes legislative irresponsibility. And that Congress may enact a measure on the authority of more than one constitutional power is well settled.

Further, to rely upon the power of the Fourteenth Amendment would be giving deserved recognition to a grant of authority designed to protect Negroes from state action which deprives them of equal protection and due process of law. To the argument that "state action" is absent in the denial of equal accommodations in private facilities open to the public, it need only be said that in an age of mounting governmental regulation over the commercial sphere of life, the states have obviously "become involved" in the operation of public accommodations licensed, regulated and supported by their agencies. The

---

16 Brown v. Board of Educ., 347 US 483.

17 163 US 537.

"private property" concepts which were the basis for the Supreme Court's refuaal in 1883 to give necessary scope to the Fourteenth Amendment's guaranteea, cannot today remain dispositive of the question. No reaaon appears why our presently constituted Supreme Court would decline to give controlling significance in equal protection cases to the "public interest" considerations it finds dispositive in economic due process cases. It should also be noted that Mr. Justice Douglas has already expressed the view in a concurring opinion[18] that, "...there is hardly any private enterprise that does not feel the pinch of some public regulation - from price control, to health and fire inspection, to zoning, to safety measures, to minimum wages and working conditions, to unemployment insurance. When the doors of a business are open to the public, they must be open to all regardless of race if apartheid is not to become engrained in our public places..."

Finally, to argue that the spectre of a near-discredited 1883 decision, which may very well fall of its weight in the October 1963 Supreme Court Term,[19] should inhibit the Congress in its exercise of power under the Fourteenth Amendment, is to ignore the teachings of recent congressional history. One need only turn again to Congress' exercise of authority in the labor-management field, to prove that Congress usually has not been reticent in the implementation of its power.

In 1933 Congress enacted the National Industrial Recovery Act[20] aimed in part at promoting collective bargaining, the workers' right to self-organization, and industrial peace. Yet when a Supreme Court majority, more imbued with "the social statics of

---

18 Lombard v. Louisiana, 31 LW 4476, 4480 (1963)

19 See Griffin v. Maryland, No. 6, In the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1963.

20 48 Stat. 198

Mr. Herbert Spencer" than with an understanding of the complexities of modern industrial life, held the N.l.R.A. unconstitutional,[21] Congress did not feel itaelf constrained to defeat the Wagner Act. In fact, in little more than two months following the demise of the N.l.R.A., the National Labor Relations Act was enacted on July 5, 1935, containing policies and procedures which were even stronger than those which had been contained the N.l.R.A. And in 1935, notwithstanding the N.l.R.A. decision, the constitutionality of the Wagner Act was upheld by a somewhat newly composed Supreme Court.[22]

Certainly if the 1935 Congress was prepared to do battle with outmoded constitutional doctrines within two months of their announcement, this Congress should be prepared to do no less with an antiquated holding which dates back to the late nineteenth century.

---

21 Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States, 295 US 495 (1935)

22 NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., 301 US 1.

TITLE VI

NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Title VI would authorize the withholding of federal funds from any program or activity that receives federal assistance, directly or indirectly, by way of grant, contract, loan, insurance, guarantee, or otherwise, when discrimination is found in such a program or activity.

This title simply sanctions by legislation that which already exists in terms of executive power.

The President's failure to withhold funds in a case of federally subsidized discrimination in public schools in impacted areas has caused the Subcommittee of Education and Labor to report out favorably the Gill Bill, H.R. 6938. The Gill Bill would make mandatory the withholding of funds under the Impacted Areas Bill, Vocational Education Act, the National Defense Education Act, and the Library Services Act.

The Gill Bill would eliminate the discretionary power presently vested in the President of the United States and would require the withholding of funds to the tune of $1,116,800,000 in federal grants in aid to 11 States which are presently benefitting from federally-supported programs of racial discrimination. What assurance do we have that the President of the United States would exercise his discretionary power derived from legislative enactment any differently than that which is presently exercised under his power as Chief Executive.

Let us look at the record and see what is happening today under executive authority.

Even in the case of the Defense Department where there is an official program of non-discrimination, the Southern Regional Council reporta January 1961 that usually reliable sources have reported that "Gentlemen's Agreements" existed where military

Negro personnel are housed or transferred when their children reached school age. The Southern Regional Council also reported that "federal property has been deeded or leased to school boards for use as school sites with the result that the facilities then become off-base or segregated. Most of the southern off-base schools are segregated. Elemantary, secondary, and vocational education grants under the impacted areas program where the matter is left to the discretion of the Administrator, almost 100% segregated program follows. For example, regulations issued by the Office of Education state that educational opportunities must be available without discrimination because of race, creed, or color. However, there is no administrative program of enforcement of this regulation. The result is that grants in fiscal 1960 for vocational education in which no vocational schools have been desegregated include:

Alabama	$1,063,459
Arkansas	780,559
Florida	641,556
Georgia	1,094,212
Louisiana	871,379
Mississippi	961,493
South Caroline	732,732

Grants in the form of scholarships, fellowships, and research and endowments to hospitals, universities, institutions have amounted to $2,889,100,000 in 1959 (Tax Foundation, Facts and Figures on Government Finance, 1960-61, p. 91)

With a few exceptions, there is no formal policy or machinery to assure that these funds paid for by all taxpayers, will be used in a non-discriminatory manner.

Under the impacted program, the following 11 southern states received over $63 million for their school systems in one year by the federal government and operating in an almost completely segregated program.

State	% of desegregation
Texas	1.21%
Alabama	0%
Georgia	0%
Mississippi	0%
South Carolina	0%
Arkansas	.107%
Florida	.013%
Louisiana	.0004%
North Carolina	.026%
Tennessee	.247%
Virginia	.099%

With regard to the Guidance Training Program which is conducted for the purpose of training high school teachers and administrators who identify and guide the talent of the nation's youth, federal funds in 1960 were not available to Negro teachers in 4 and possibly 6 of the 7 Southern states studied. The Civil Rights Commission report observed:

> "It is difficult to conclude that there is no talent of use to the Nation to be identified and developed among a group constituting 31 per cent of the people of Alabama, 19 per cent of the people of Florida, 29 per cent of the people of Georgia, 42 per cent of the people of Mississippi, and 36 per cent of the people of South Carolina."

National Science Foundation. In 1960 almost $4 million in federal funds were spent in 7 Southern states for higher educational institutes. All but 31.8% of the subsidized segregation.

Research Grants and Contracts. The U. S. Office of Education reported that $750 million was spent in 1960 by the

federal government in research projects in universities and research centers. This represents more than 70% of all funds spent for research and 86% of all such research in the physical sciences. In the 7 states studied by the Civil Rights Commission, it was found that 43% of all National Institute of Health grants and 41% of all grants by the Atomic Energy Commission went to public institutions which refused admission to colored students.

The Civil Rights Commission observed that all other programs of higher education "the failure of the federal government to give any consideration to the presence or absence of discriminatory practices by federally-supported institutions has the effect of supporting racial segregation and continuing the education and deprivation of those excluded from such institutions."

It is clear from the foregoing that the President has done little or nothing in the use of his vast discretionary power to date in the withholding of funds for the purpose of desegregation of the schools in the South.

The next question is if the President is to make use of this power under the proposed title, would funds be withheld solely for the purpose of effectuating policies of the Act or would possible abuses set in, and funds withheld are granted for the purpose of gaining political support on Administration programs?

The discretionary power is so vast and so great that even the President of the United States questioned whether it should be used in the case of Mississippi when the U. S. Civil Rights Commission suggested that it cut off all funds from the State of Mississippi until it ceases subverting the constitution. At a press conference on April 24th, the President stated and I quote the following colloquy:

> Q. "Mr. President, will you attempt to cut off federal aid to the State of Mississippi as proposed by your Civil Rights Commission?"

The President: "I don't have the power to cut off the aid in a general way as was proposed by the Civil Rights Commission, and I would think it would probably be unwise to give the President of the United States that kind of power because it could start in one state and for one reason or another it might be moved to another state which was not measuring up as the President would like to see it measure up in one way or another."

I recommend to the Committee the adoption of the mandatory features of the Gill Bill. It is quite clear that its mandatory aspects of the program does not create unreasonable inflexibility as mandatory requirements presently exist in five different federal agencies' resolutions.

1. The Department of Interior recently made federal land more available for parks by reducing the sale price of land in the national forest reserve. As a condition of purchase, state and local governments will be required to agree to maintain such land open to public recreation without discrimination. Failure to do so will cause the land to revert to the federal government.

2. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board by a resolution adopted on June 1, 1961 (Resolution No. 14656) made it a policy that member banks not discriminate in the making of loans.

3. The Rural Electrification Administration has made it a condition of its loan contracts that the borrower agree to pursue a non-discriminatory employment policy. (REA loan contract form "L.C." Rev. 9-30-53).

4. The Departments of Interior and Agriculture and the Army Corps of Engineers have made it a requirement that anyone using land under their jurisdiction, under a lease, license, permit, etc., must agree that such land will be used without discrimination.

5. The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the Office of Education have by regulation prohibited discrimination in vocational programs assisted with federal funds (45 CFR 10218 and 401.14 (2)).

In terms of imposing hardships on innocent people through the withholding of funds, I might simply say that it is always a question of comparative hardships. If you withhold the funds principally white students will suffer. If you don't withhold the funds principally Negro students will suffer. I think that the temper of the times calls for a reversal in emphasis.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few general observations.

1. The temper of the times calls for statesmanship rather than partisanship in the handling of this, the most serious problem of the present day. Disturbing indeed is a record of partisanship and press agentry with this civil rights issue that has been so characteristic of this administration's approach to this problem. The most recent evidence of the Attorney General's using the civil rights issue as a political football should be found on page one of the July 19th issue of the Wall Street Journal in their Washington Wire column:

"Brother Robert pushes President Kennedy to make an early civil rights speech in the deep South. The Attorney General argues a presidential appeal on the spot would help mobilize moderate opinion in Dixie. Anyway, he reasoned, it would be good politics in the North."

2. It is true that the administration is pleading for a bi-partisan approach: Yet can it really expect bi-partisanship in the face of such ruthless partisanship as has been evidenced by the Attorney General?

Even the Attorney General's appearance before this Committee led Congressman John Lindsay of New York to say:

"I am quite deeply disturbed, Mr. Attorney General, that you have never bothered to read this very important legislation that was carefully drafted and introduced by four of us on the minority side long before the Administration saw fit to take any position on this subject at all."

3. The vast powers that are being requested by the Administration give serious rise to whether or not such broad discretion should be granted by the Congress to a politically motivated Administration.

The Attorney General has been thought of as the politician of the administration and it has been rumored he will resign after the

first of the year to assume his responsibilities in directing his brother's campaign.

With all due respect to the Attorney General's position and his interest in the civil rights issue, may I humbly suggest that the greatest service he could perform in promoting a truly bi-partisan policy in this Congress on the issue of civil rights is public announcement that he will resign as Attorney General to assume the duties for which he seems to be so ideally suited.

I trust whether the Attorney General heeds this gratuitous suggestion or not, the merits of the pending legislation be considered separate and apart from the personalities involved.

EXHIBIT: NON-DISCRIMINATION CLAUSES CONTAINED IN TEAMSTER CONTRACTS

1. Local 210 & Air Conditioning, Inc. Agreement, 21st day of October, 1960, Article VIII, page three of Agreement :

   "The Employer agrees not to discriminate against any employee because of Union activity or because of the lack thereof, or because of race, color or creed.

2. Franklin Baker Division, General Foods Corporation, Local 560, March 24, 1960, Section XVI - Discrimination and Intimidation: Page 14

   "The Company and its representatives shall not discriminate against any employee on account of Union affiliation, or on account of any legitimate Union activity. The Union, its officers and members shall not intimidate or coerce employees into joining the Union or continuing their membership therein.

   "It is mutually agreed that neither the Company nor the Union will discriminate against employees because of race, color, or creed."

3. Toledo Dockmen Agreement , March 4, 1962, between A&P Tea Company and Local 20, IBT, Article VI, Section 4, page 6.

   "No employee shall be discriminated against because of Union activities, race, creed, color or national origin."

4. Local 239, IBT and Automotive Parts Distributors Association, Inc., September 29, 1958. See also agreement April 30, 1962. See Article XX, page 35.

   "Neither the Union nor a Member Employer shall discriminate against any employee because of race, color, creed, religious beliefs,nationality, union activity or the refusal to participate therein, and no favoritism based upon such factors shall motivate any Member Employer in connection with promotions, upgrading, apprenticeship or job training programs, transfers, shift assignments, layoffs or rehiring."

5. Local 1145 , A Union of Honeywell Employees, Minneapolis Honeywell Regulator Company, February 1, 1962, Section 4, Article III, page 8.

   "The Company shall not discriminate against any employee on the basis of arbitrary or capricious action or by reason of sex, race, creed, color, national origin, membership in the Union, or Union activities authorized by the terms of this Agreement. The Union or its members shall not intimidate or coerce employees into membership in the Union. The Company or its employees shall not engage in anti-union activities which in themselves create discord or lack of harmony."

6. Minneapolis Automobile Dealers Association and Local 974, April 16, 1963, Article XII, Section 1, Page 5

   "The provisions of this contract shall be applied to all employees without discrimination on account of sex, race, color, creed, or national origin. No employee shall be in any way discriminated against for giving information or testifying concerning alleged violation of this Agreement."

EXHIBIT

REPORT OF THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS COMMITTEE
TEAMSTERS LOCAL UNION 688
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

FOR THE YEARS
1952, 1954, 1956

1952 Report

The beginning of 1951 was a low-water mark for the Democratic Rights of Members Committee -- both in membership and activity.

However, during the year the committee was doubled in size as a result of a series of short talks made by our members to various Unit Stewards meetings and classes. In these talks we explained the purposes and activities of our committee that the Democratic Rights Committee exists to see that every member gets a fair shake on the job, in the union, and in the Community.

The activities, as well as the size, of the committee increased greatly. One of the main projects was to assist in every possible way to end the undemocratic practice of segregation in the public schools. We sent telegrams and night letters in support of House Bill 135 to members of the State Legislature. This bill would, if passed, have ended segregation in the schools.

We also drew up the plan, which all delegates have in their kits, entitled "Preparing For An Integrated Public School System." This plan assumes that segregation will soon end and that we must plan now for an intelligent and orderly change. The plan details the reasons why we think segregation will end and makes eight recommendations for integration.

Also, the committee expressed its concern to Congressman Karsten that the (then) new draft bill did not contain the G.I. Bill of Rights for returning servicemen. The Congressman assured us that he would press for the G.I. Bill.

The committee set up a subcommittee to protect those members who are brought before the Executive Board on charges. Ted Hill

Exhibit: Report of Democratic Rights Committee, Teamsters Local 688

and Jim O'Donnell served on this subcommittee. They made sure that those charged knew of what they were charged and the proper procedures and that the Executive Board did not violate the By-Laws.

The year 1951 was one of the best in terms of getting the Anti-Discrimination clause in our contracts. At the beginning of the year about 5,100 workers were covered by this clause. At the end of the year more than 6,000 were protected. The employees of only thirty-one (31) companies now under contract with Local 688 are not covered by this clause which provides that "the employer shall not discriminate against any employee, or applicant for employment, because of Union membership, race, creed, color, or national origin."

The Anti-Discrimination clauses were better enforced once they were achieved. For example, in one surgical supply house, the contract containing the anti-bias clause for the first time was signed late in October. Early in December a Negro who had Seniority bid on a job as order-filler and was up-graded in accordance with the contract.

1954 Report

The Committee on Democratic Rights serves a basic functional purpose within the structure of the Local Union. It is a watch-dog Committee in the area of human rights and intra-union democracy. When it was established four years ago, as a permanent standing Committee of the Union the committee issued the following memborandum to all shop stewards:

"The enormous growth in size of this union has made it necessary to create the Democratic Rights Committee so that every member has a court of appeals if his rights are infringed by stewards, officers, staff members, government officials, private citizens or anyone else.

"If any member feels that he is discriminated against within the Union or in the shop, he should of course report such discrimination

to his steward, and if necessary to his chief steward in the same manner as all other grievances. But he should know that if he does not get satisfaction through the usual channels, he has the right to appeal to the Committee on Democratic Rights. The committee would also welcome reports of discrimination in the community at large, which must be eliminated through political action and the creation of a more democratic climate of opinion."

A major continuing project of the committee is its efforts to have incorporated in all contracts, a Fair Employment Practice Clause which seeks to eliminate discriminatory hiring practices in 688 shops. To date approximately 72 percent of the membership is covered by contracts which contain such a provision.

The Committee is currently concerned with another area of discrimination, and that is discrimination against women in the establishment of rates of pay and separate seniority rosters.

Within the Community, the major continuing project has been in the field of public school education. Two years ago the Committee presented to the St. Louis Board of Education a series of proposals on preparing the Community for an integrated public school system. The proposals attracted nation-wide attention, and have been reprinted in several Educational Journals. Informal meetings and discussions have been held with representatives of the School Board on these proposals and the Committee is now planning to bring its original report up-to-date, based on recent developments.

During the year, the Committee had introduced, through State Senator Robert Pentland, a State Fair Employment Practices Bill patterned after the New York State measure. The primary purpose of the Bill was Educational and to draw attention to a difficult and tedious problem. Many Church groups and Community organizations appeared before the Committee in support of the Bill. While the Bill failed to receive the support of a majority of the Senate Committee, a great deal of education was accomplished.

Exhibit : Report of Democratic Rights Committee, Teamsters Local 688

1956 Report

The Committee on Democratic Rights has worked endlessly and faithfully since its creation six (6) years ago in Local 688. We have some fruitful gains to report in the field of Human Rights and intra-union democracy, which is the primary function of the Committee.

In the year of 1951, the Committee made an all-out effort in support of House Bill 135 in the State Legislature. House Bill 135 if passed would eliminate the undemocratic practice of segregation in the Public School System. The committee on Democratic Rights of Local 688, being very sincere in its function, drew up eight (8) recommendations which were presented to the Board of Education as proposals of how desegregation would be workable. These recommendations attracted nationwide attention, and they were also reprinted in several educational journals. Several informal meetings were held with representatives of the Board of Education. After intensive work, the Committee is happy to report that St. Louis was one of the first cities to desegregate its public schools with the use of some of the recommendations of Local 688 after the United States Supreme Court decision was made.

All members who feel they are discriminated against should have their complaint processed as any Union shop grievance. The Committee on Democratic Rights also serves as a watch-dog committee in the area of anti-discrimination clauses in Local 688 contracts. These clauses seek to eliminate discriminatory hiring practices and discrimination of rates of pay and separate seniority rosters.

On the city government level, the Committee is working on grievance concerning anti-discrimination in city contracts given out to private industry. Pending in the Board of Aldermen is a Public Accommodation Bill which was endorsed by the Committee and Local 688

Exhibit: Report of Democratic Rights Committee, Teamsters Local 688

Stewards Council, which would make it a misdemeanor for anyone to discriminate against anyone in Public places. The Committee has worked very hard on this bill. Bro. Zagri and members have appeared before the Aldermatic Committee and other civil groups to further the passage of this bill. It still lies in the Legislative Committee of the Board of Aldermen. We hope we will be successful in getting this bill passed.

On the State level, several bills were introduced in the field of democratic rights which we supported. House Bill 201, which died in the House Committee, dealt with the creation of a Human Rights Commission whose aims were to (1) foster mutual understanding and respect among all racial, religious and ethnic groups in the state, and (2) encourage equality of treatment for and prevent discrimination against any racial, religious and ethnic groups or its members.

House Bill 275 which died in the House Committee was anti-discrimination in public places which very similar to the one introduced in the City.

House Bill 294 which passed the House and died in the Senate Committee would make it a misdemeanor to discriminate in state employment.

House Bill 431 which was defeated in the House on final passage would have made it unlawful for any employee, employer or labor organization to discriminate against anyone because of race, creed, color or national origin. This is the same bill introduced by Senator Pentland in 1953. It was patterned after the New York law.

E

Exhibit

E D I T O R I A L

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
January 28, 1952

A Union Plan For The Schools

The AFL. Warehouse & Diatribution Workera' Union, Local 688 has preaented St. Louia with a program looking to an orderly transition from racial segregation to integration in our public school system - when and if exiating legal barriers are torn down.

The union's report is based on the assumption that the days of racial segregation in the public schools here are numbered It points out that a suit brought against the Board of Education are appealed to the United States Supreme Court conceivably could result in an order ending segregation This being the case, reason dictates that the City should be prepared for the change, the union feels.

But it also believes careful conditioning is necessary if the change is to be quiet and orderly. To that end, the union has drawn an eight point program for consideration by the School Board the essence of which is the encouragement of interracial participation in school activities in many areas where it is possible under the law.

These include mixed participation in certain athletic events the racial integration of teachers in those schools located in inter-racial neighborhoods and the establishment of a required high school courae in human relations, among other things.

The union admits ita plan is not perfect in detail and is soliciting commenta and constructive criticisms. It hopes in this way that weakneases can be brought to light, and that suggestions for improvementa might be forthcoming.

Thia attitude should commend itself to the community generally and to the School Board in particular. The program is concrete, but far from flexible. As auch it deserves mature study and consideration in every section of the community, and particularly by the Board of Education.

***

Exhibit

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

RESOLUTION ON RANDOLPH CENSURE

DECEMBER 6, 1961

The General Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters deplores the resolution adopted by the recent meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO which censured A. Philip Randolph and charged him with bearing the "major" responsibility for the "gap that has developed between organized labor and the Negro community."

This motion of censure is a gross injustice to a labor leader who has done more than anyone else in the labor movement to maintain its integrity and unity in the fight for the complete integration of Negro and white workers in the house of labor, who has struggled tirelessly, courageously and consistently for this goal.

This injustice is particularly shocking in view of the fact that no measure of equal force has ever been adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council against any leaders of AFL-CIO affiliates which continue to maintain Jim Crowism in their organizations.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters recognizes that the American labor movement has made greater advances in organizing and in improving the living standards of Negroes than any other voluntary, public organization or institution in this country.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters together with many others who also champion both the labor movement and civil rights, categorically rejects the charges leveled against that diatinguished advocate of trade unionism and human brotherhood, A. Philip Randolph.

/s/ James. R. Hoffa /s/ John F. English

Exchange of Correspondence Between

General President Hoffa

and

Representatives of the President's

COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

from April 10, 1962. to July 3, 1963

in which

the Teamsters Union offers to support

the President's "Plans for Progress" Program

and is refused by the President's

Committee

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS · WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA

MAIN AND PRINCIPAL OFFICE, 25001 TRUMBULL AVENUE, DETROIT 16, MICHIGAN

WASHINGTON OFFICE OF
• JAMES R. HOFFA •
GENERAL PRESIDENT
20 LOUISIANA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D.C.

April 10, 1962

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
Vice President of the United States
of America
Chairman, The President's Committee
on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

It is my understanding that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity is developing Plans for Progress for labor unions. Inasmuch as the policies and practices of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with respect to employment opportunities has been and will continue to be in complete conformity with the policies and objectives of the Committee, we will be pleased to support the work of the Committee in every respect. In addition, we respectfully request an early conference with a member of your staff to develop a Plan for Progress to cover our union.

Respectfully yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH:non

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

April 17, 1962

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

This will acknowledge receipt of your lettter of April 10, 1962 addressed to the Vice President. The Committee has this matter under consideration and will be in communication with you.

Sincerely,

John G. Feild
Executive Director

Mr. James R. Hoffa
General President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
2801 Trumbull Avenue
Detroit 16, Michigan

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS · WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA

MAIN AND PRINCIPAL OFFICE, 2801 TRUMBULL AVENUE, DETROIT 16, MICHIGAN

WASHINGTON OFFICE OF
· JAMES R. HOFFA ·
GENERAL PRESIDENT
25 LOUISIANA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

May 11, 1962

The Honorable Jerry R. Holleman
Vice Chairman, The President's Committee
on Equal Employment Opportunity
Department of Labor Building
14th Street and Constitution Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Holleman:

It is my understanding that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity is developing Plans for Progress for labor unions. Inasmuch as the policies and practices of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with respect to employment opportunities has been and will continue to be in complete conformity with the policies and objectives of the Committee, we will be pleased to support the work of the Committee in every respect. In addition, we respectfully request an early conference with a member of your staff to develop a Plan for Progress to cover our union.

Respectfully yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH/alb

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS · WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA

MAIN AND PRINCIPAL OFFICE 2801 TRUMBULL AVENUE, DETROIT 18, MICHIGAN

WASHINGTON OFFICE OF
• JAMES R. HOFFA •
GENERAL PRESIDENT
25 LOUISIANA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D.C.

June 1, 1962

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. President:

Enclosed are copies of a self-explanatory letter, dated April 10, 1962, addressed to Vice President Johnson, and a letter, dated May 11, 1962, to Mr. Hollaman, then Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, in which I stated that the policies and practices of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with respect to employment opportunities have been and will continue to be in complete conformity with the policies and objectives of your Committee and that our Union will be pleased to support the work of the Committee in every respect.

We again respectfully request an early conference with a staff member of the Committee to develop a Plan for Progress to cover our Union.

Respectfully yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH:nom
Enclosures

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

5 June 1962

Mr. James R. Hoffa, General President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
2801 Trumbell Avenue
Detroit 16, Michigan

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 11 addressed to Jerry R. Holleman. As I previously informed you, we expect to be in communication with you on this matter in the not too distant future.

Sincerely yours,

John G. Feild

John G. Feild
Executive Director

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

August 6, 1962

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

Your recent letter to the President has been forwarded to my office for reply.

The Committee is continuing its plan for the development of an appropriate adaptation of the Plans for Progress program for trade unions. As these plans develop, you may be sure you will be informed by the Committee.

Sincerely,

John G. Feild
Executive Director

Mr. James R. Hoffa
General President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS · WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA

MAIN AND PRINCIPAL OFFICE, 2501 TRUMBULL AVENUE, DETROIT 16, MICHIGAN

WASHINGTON OFFICE OF
• JAMES R. HOFFA •
GENERAL PRESIDENT
25 LOUISIANA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

November 20, 1962

Mr. Hobart L. Taylor
Executive Vice Chairman
The President's Committee on
Equal Employment Opportunity
Department of Labor Building
14th Street & Constitution Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

It is our understanding that on November 16, 1962 you stated to a newspaper reporter that the reason the International Brotherhood of Teamsters did not participate with 100 national trade unions in signing pledges to eliminate employment discrimination was that our Union had not contacted the President's Committee. I would appreciate it very much if you would advise us whether you made such a statement. We cannot believe that you did.

By letter dated April 10, 1962, addressed to Vice President Johnson, I stated that the policies and practices of our Union with respect to employment opportunities has been and will continue to be in complete conformity with the policies and objectives of the President's Committee and that we would be pleased to support the Committee in every

respect. In addition, I requested an early conference with a staff member to develop a Plan for Progress to cover our Union. Executive Director John G. Field, by letter dated April 17, 1962, advised me that the Committee had the matter under consideration and would be in communication with me. By letter dated May 11, 1962, to the Vice Chairman Hollemann, I restated the position of our Union with respect to employment opportunities and again requested an early conference to develop a Plan for Progress to cover our Union. By letter dated June 5, 1962, Mr. Field advised me that the Committee expected to be in communication with me in the not-too-distant future. By a letter dated June 1, 1962, to the President, which was placed in the mail on June 8, 1962, I again stated our position and again requested an early conference. Mr. Field, by letter dated August 6, 1962, advised that the Committee was continuing its plans for the development of an appropriate adaptation of the Plans for Progress program for trade unions and that as these plans develop, I could be sure that I would be informed by the Committee. This was the last communication I have received from the Committee.

Regardless of whether you have made the statement attributed to you, it is the hope of our Union that, inasmuch as you have at long last been successful in persuading AFL-CIO affiliates to accord cooperation to the Committee, the Committee may now be willing to grant equal opportunity to our Union to sign a pledge against discrimination which our Union could have been willing to sign as long ago as April, 1962.

Despite the way in which the Committee has dealt with our Union, we will continue to support the work of the Committee in every respect, and we again respectfully request a conference with a member of your staff to arrange for the execution of a pledge by our Union.

Respectfully yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH:JCS/r

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS · WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA

MAIN AND PRINCIPAL OFFICE, 2801 TRUMBULL AVENUE, DETROIT 16, MICHIGAN

WASHINGTON OFFICE OF
• JAMES R. HOFFA •
GENERAL PRESIDENT
25 LOUISIANA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

February 11, 1963

Mr. Robert L. Taylor
Executive Vice Chairman
The President's Committee on
Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

In the case of social justice, fair play and common decency, I request a reply to my letter of November 20, 1962.

Very truly yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH:non

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MAR 1 1963

Mr. James R. Hoffa
General President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
Chauffeurs, Warehousers & Helpers
of America
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Sir:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 11, 1963, and earlier communications.

Mr. Taylor has asked me to inform you that the statement attributed to him, with respect to the reasons why your union had not signed a Plan for Fair Practices, was not accurate. He has never stated to a newspaper reporter that the Teamster's Union had not contacted the President's Committee.

Sincerely yours,

John G. Feild

John G. Feild
Executive Director

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS · WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA

MAIN AND PRINCIPAL OFFICE, 2801 TRUMBULL AVENUE, DETROIT 16, MICHIGAN

WASHINGTON OFFICE OF
• JAMES R. HOFFA •
GENERAL PRESIDENT
25 LOUISIANA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D.C.

July 3, 1963

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
Vice President of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

It is by now apparent that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has decided that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters does not exist for the purpose of signing a Plan for Fair Practices. A summary reading of the enclosed correspondence makes this conclusion inescapable. In my judgment such conduct constitutes another chapter in the continuing vendetta which the Kennedy Administration is carrying out against the Teamsters Union. It is most unfortunate that in this instance such reprisal comes at the expense of a program to promote equal employment opportunity.

Hence, in the light of the resistance which this Union has encountered from the President's Committee we have decided that any further efforts would be futile. However, this will advise that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters will continue its policy of non-discrimination as it has in the past and will continue to exert its best efforts to promote equality of employment opportunity. In this

connection I am enclosing a copy of an editorial appearing in the June 1963 issue of "The International Teamster" which more fully sets forth the position of the Teamsters Union on the question of racial equality.

Very truly yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH/alb
Enclosures

Copies to: The Honorable W. Willard Wirtz
The Honorable Adam Clayton Powell
The Honorable James Roosevelt
Mr. James Farmer
Mr. James Forman
Mr. Herbert Hill
The Reverend Martin Luther King
Mr. A. Phillip Randolph

Message from the President

—But One Moral Choice—

It has been a long time since anyone in this country has fought to obtain rights with the same vigor and spirit the American Negro now utilizes in seeking what is rightfully his.

Not since the 1930's when labor battled with company goons on the streets of Detroit for decent wages and dignity on the job has this country witnessed revolution such as the one which is sweeping the South and threatens to erupt in the North.

I can understand why an Attorney General with Bobbie Kennedy's mentality and background would fail to understand the civil rights fight of the Negro, as a leading Negro author has charged. But I can't for a moment comprehend the working man who has anything but understanding and encouragement for the American Negro. Especially should we expect guidance and encouragement from our older members who once had to fight for rights we now take for granted.

Any labor leader worth his salt should recognize that the Negro today is being frustrated by the same methods which were used to fight unionization in the 1930's. We've all run up against anti-picketing ordinances, against the court injunction which forbade peaceful assembly, against police whose mental makeup was symbolized by the riot stick he carried in his clenched and irrational fist.

These are not much different from the frustrations incurred by Negroes in the South, with the possible exception that tyrants have found that a K-9 corps can do the work formerly performed by Pinkerton detectives.

But how much more refined we are in the North with our subtle ways than is the plantation type of discrimination.

All we need do is ask ourselves who makes up the majority in the vast pools of unemployed, say in Detroit, and we shamefully must admit that it is the American Negro. Who is hardest hit by the curse of automation when the employer looks upon new technology simply as a labor cost-cutting device—the American Negro and other minority groups.

Look around and see who is employed at the dirty service jobs which pay the least. Look around and see who holds the good paying jobs in the country, and who has no opportunity at these jobs because of color. Look at the nation's slums and see who lives in the cities' rat infested flats—and check the color of the landlord's skin who pockets the exorbitant rent.

Then stop and examine some first-hand knowledge you all have if you belong to the working class of people in this nation. Regardless of the color of our skin, we all get that hungry feeling in the same place when there isn't enough food to go around. We all hurt in the same place when we know that as head of a household we cannot provide for our families. One who has experienced that can understand how bitterness takes the place of hope if such deprivation is because of one's color. It's not much different than the bitterness in the 30's of one who found himself blacklisted because he carried a union card in his pocket and could find no job to support his family.

Vice President Lyndon Johnson has said: "Until justice is blind to color, until education is unaware of race, until opportunity is unconcerned with the color of men's skins, emancipation will be a proclamation but not a fact."

The *New York Times* has editorially taken the Attorney General to task for laughing at the proposal that his brother, The President, accompany Negro students to the campus (University of Alabama) and see that they are enrolled.

Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver has said that "If we as citizens, and as a Nation, can commit ourselves to the solution of this problem, then it can be solved. If we don't, government can never solve it."

We in the Teamsters can pride ourselves in one fact—there are no Jim Crow local unions in this organization. To claim that an International Union of 1½ million members is entirely free from discrimination would be the height of naivete, indeed, but in the makeup of our local unions, man is judged on his trade union philosophy and his dedication to the struggle—not by color.

Yet, this is not nearly enough. I want to take this opportunity to urge all Teamster members—in this time when Negroes have become angry Americans—to let brotherhood be their guide.

As the world's largest union, we have but one moral choice—to guard that bigotry and prejudice do not hinder us in our fight against economic and social problems which plague all human beings—regardless of race, color or creed.

James R. Hoffa

STATEMENT BY ALBERT FUENTES, JR.
STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, PASO OF TEXAS
(Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations)

During the debates, discussions, publicity, etc. of civil rights and civil rights legislation, it is rather amusing and yet it is also sad that there is so great a lack of understanding of some of the problems in our United States.

Civil rights has been spotlighted as an attempt to bring equal rights and opportunity to Negroes. All one sees in printed reports or on TV is the solution to the Negro problem.

Civil rights may mean the unshackeling of the Negro in the South or in those areas where he is discriminated, but, it also means affording true freedom to Americans of Mexican descent in Texas and the Southwest United States. For here, in these areas, the American of Mexican descent, or Latin-American, or the Spanish-speaking citizen or whatever you would call him, has a problem of discrimination that equals the Negro's problem in the South.

It would be impossible to document all of the gross inequities exercised against the American citizen of Mexican descent merely because he was Latin in this brief statement. I might say that some progress has been made over the years. But it has been done by giving of blood, and sweat, a chore that should not be necessary when our Constitution guarantees these rights. But these edicts have not been respected and, therefore, necessitated many court battles and demonstrations. We feel proper civil rights legislation could put an end to the personal financial sacrifice the private citizen must go through to insure his right as an American citizen.

I will try, as briefly as possible, to cite some of the problems and desired solutions that we feel will help solve the existing situation in respect to the denial of civil rights to Americans of Mexican descent.

TITLE I - VOTING RIGHTS

In referring to the problems of Americans of Mexican descent, I will restrict myself to Texas, where I am more familiar, but point out that this situation exists in proportion where the Spanish-speaking populations exist in numbers.

The Spanish-speaking population of Texas is one-fifth of the total population of the State, in the Southern belt of the State, the Spanish-speaking population will average out at about 70% of the population.

However, here the percentages stop and reverse, for there are 254 counties in Texas, each elects a County Judge, County Clerk, County Attorney or District Attorney, County Treasurer, County School Superintendent, Tax Assessor and Collector, a County Sheriff a District Clerk and District Judges. (A judicial district may comprise more than one county). (How many are Latin Americans?) The last Texas Almanac 61-62 - records as of September 1960, show that there are (with Spanish surnames) only (of 254 counties), three county Judges, four county clerks, three county attorneys, two county Treasurers, two county school superintendents, five tax assessors and collectors, three county sheriffs, one district attorney, three district clerks, and four district judges, elected in the State of Texas. Each county, also supports a County Health officer. There are only two county health officers in the State of Texas with Spanish surnames. This in view of the fact that Latin Americans are a vast majority of the population in over two counties, and that the Negro Latin population

is predominant in some 50 or 60 other counties, and this does not include East Texas where Negroes alone comprise the majority in some counties. Incidentally, there are no elected Negro officials.

So it is obvious that the elected officials do not reflect the makeup of the population of Texas. This lack of representation further reflects itself in the appointive political positions.

Again the 61-62 Almanac of Texas shows that of approximately 247 Boards and Commissions in Texas, the Latin American has representation on five boards, of 1180 appointees to these boards there were only with Spanish surnames or approximately one-half of 1% of the appointees were Latin. Gentlemen, all things being equal, this could not have happened. I'd like at this point, to clarify what I mean by majority population, so we may better understand the inequity. Here are only a few examples:

Duval County,	approx.	90%	pop.	Latin
Starr County,	"	"	"	"
Webb County,	"	"	"	"
Zavala County,	"	85%	"	"
Zapata County,	"	"	"	"
Cameron County,	"	70%	"	"
Jim Hogg County,	"	"	"	"
Willacy County,	"	"	"	"
Brooks County,	"	"	"	"
Val Verde County	"	"	"	"
Maverick County	"	"	"	"

etc., and counties like Guadalupe County - 35% Latin and 30% Negro population or Ft. Bend and Wharton Counties with each about 30% Latin and 25% Negro.

No gentleman, and I am sure you will agree, the political chart on representation does not reflect the government by and

for the people. It reflects that something is not right.

Of course, the economic barrier to voting is one cause (the poll tax, costs $1.75 per person to vote), and this year Texas will have a special election on November 9th, the issue being to retain or abolish the poll tax as a pre-requisite to voting. The only catch is you have to have a poll tax, to vote against the poll tax, and you can't get one now for any money, since the poll tax paying period ended January 31st, 1963.

An interesting thing happened in Texas, this year, while the mass demonstrations in the South by Negroes revolting against the shackles of discrimination when denial of voting rights were going on, another type of Revolution was going on in South Texas. A Revolution by ballots rather than bullets.

A combined effort of PASO and organized Labor (The Teamsters Union) poll tax buying campaigns were held in Crystal City Zavala County, Texas, and over threats of violence and economic reprisals the Latin Americans became the voting majority for the first time, (they overcome by sacrifice the obstacles of qualifying to vote). Then they united and elected for the first time a truly representative to City Council. A small pamphlet is attached to this statement which may better explain in more detail the problems encountered in the Latin American's attempt to be a first class citizen.

But having won the election did not end but began more problems. Attached you will also find some news articles that reflect these problems. The mayor was harassed and denied the

right to exercise his office by the Texas Rangers, particularly one, Capt. Alfred Allee in charge of the Rangers in Crystal City. The director of Public Safety (Allee's boss) refused to act, (maybe the fact that he was Tom Allee's cousin had an effect on his decision to condemn Capt. Allee's action), the Governor refused to act, (Gov. Connally of Texas) by the way says he doesn't favor Civil Rights Legislation and says he is proud of the way Texas has progressed without it. Well, gentlemen, Governor Connally may be proud of the way things progressed in Crystal City but we are not, nor do I think, as Americans you will be when you see the attached exhibits of how Mayor Cormejo, a duly elected City Official, has had to file a personal financial sacrifice civil suit against Capt. Allee of the Rangers because Gov. Connally or the United States Attorney General has not acted, and because of the lack of Civil Rights Legislation in this field, or the fact that one of the councilmen has been fired because he dared desire to voice his opinion on his political and economic betterment, or the case of Margil Sanchez of Rio Grande City who has lost his job because he dared desire to live like a first class American citizen and educate himself as to the laws of equality. None of the other cases too numerous to mention have gone to court because they cannot afford the prohibited cost and then only to have the Attorney General file the answers in opposition. (This is where Cornejo case is now in court with the answers filed by the State's Attorney General in defense of Allee.) Governor

John Connally may be proud of the way Texas has progressed but we are not and we join other Americans in asking for a strong Bill on voting rights for our citizens.

"B"

Zavala County Sentinel

MEMBER ZAVALA COUNTY INDUSTRIAL FOUNDATION

Vol. 52 10 Pages Crystal City, Zavala County, Texas, Friday, February 22, 1963 10 Cents No.

" ON MY HONOR, I WILL DO MY BEST, TO DO MY DUTY, TO GOD AND TO MY COUNTRY..."

" A SCOUT IS TRUSTWORTHY, LOYAL, HELPFUL, FRIENDLY, COURTEOUS, KIND, OBEDIENT, CHEERFUL, THRIFTY, BRAVE, CLEAN, and REVERENT. "

Lions Club To Organize Scout Troop

The Crystal City Lions Club is planning to organize a Boy Scout Troop for Anglo-American boys between the ages of 11 and 18. Boys in this age group who are interested in Scouting are invited to meet at the old Troop 96 Boy Scout Hut on East Maverick St., at 7:30 p.m., Tuesday, February 26.

Fathers of the boys are also invited to attend the organizational meeting.

Ed Ball, District Scout Representative, will be on hand with interesting films as well as full information on all phases of scouting.

SCOUTING!!!
FOR ANGLO BOYS ONLY

DISCRIMINATION 1963

Who is responsible????

THE LIONS CLUB ???

THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA ??

or THE PEOPLE OF CRYSTAL CITY ?

MAYOR JUAN CORNEJO
Confers Here

RANGER ALFRED ALLEE
Accused of Assault

Officials Back Ranger in Row At Crystal City

Gov. John Connally and Texas Department of Public Safety Director Homer Garrison Tuesday gave Texas Ranger Capt. Alfred Y. Allee a vote of confidence in his dispute with Crystal City Mayor Juan Cornejo.

Cornejo, leader of an all-Latin American political ticket swept into office April 2 in Crystal City, said Allee assaulted him Monday at the city hall of Crystal City after accusing Cornejo of making false statements about him to newspaper reporters.

Cornejo in Houston

Cornejo was in Houston Tuesday to confer with Houston Atty. Chris Dixie about possible action in federal court.

He also wired the charge to President Kennedy, United States Sen. Ralph Yarborough and Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, and asked Connally to investigate possible civil rights violations in Crystal City.

In replying to Cornejo's telegram, Connally gave the veteran Ranger of 23 years a vote of confidence by saying: "The Texas Rangers were sent to Crystal City for the sole purpose of maintaining law and order and to prevent violence. Apparently their efforts have been successful to date and they will remain as long as the situation warrants."

Col. Garrison said: "I am sure nobody has been mistreated. I have complete confidence in Capt. Allee." Asked about Cornejo's allegations, Col. Garrison said, "I know of his allegations. I am in close touch with the situation at all times."

Union Agent's Claim

Cornejo, 23, business agent for the Teamsters Union in Crystal City, said Allee assaulted him in the city hall of Crystal City Monday morning.

Cornejo was signing checks, he said, when Allee came in and asked to speak to him in the city manager's office. They went in the manager's office, Cornejo said, and Allee accused Cornejo of making false statements about him to newspaper reporters.

Meanwhile, State Rep. John Alaniz of San Antonio asked Gov. Connally to investigate possible civil rights violations in Crystal City.

The all-Latin slate won office with help from the Teamsters

(See CRYSTAL, Page 5)

Crystal City Row Develops

(FROM PAGE 1)

Union and political organizers from PASO.

Then Allee pushed him and banged his head against a wall, Cornejo said. "I fear for my life," Cornejo said. He flew Monday afternoon to San Antonio in an airplane chartered by Albert Fuentes, Jr., an executive of the Political Assn. of Spanish-Speaking Organizations."

"He's a liar," Allee said.

"I merely talked to the man. He was never attacked or abused, and I've got witnesses to that fact. Everything he said is just a bunch of stuff. He's perjuring himself," Allee said.

Jim Dill, the Crystal City manager who recently announced his intention to resign, backed Allee's story. "The captain didn't lay a hand on Cornejo," Dill said.

Cornejo said Allee cursed him. Allee laughed. "You know me. I cuss a little in everyday conversation, and I just might have said something he didn't like."

Allee said he welcomes any investigation of his activities in Crystal City, and he said Ranger M. W. Williamson has been called in from Gonzales to help him keep order.

"C"

4/30/63
Light

"D"

Crystal City Mayor Says Texas Ranger Is 'Harassing' Him

Mayor Juan Cornejo has sent telegrams to President Kennedy and Sen. Ralph Yarborough protesting Texas Ranger Alfred Allee's "harassing tactics," Albert Fuentes Jr., executive secretary of the Political Assn. of Spanish Speaking Organizations, said Monday.

Fuentes said J. R. Downey, PASO director from El Paso, has gone to Washington to follow through these protests, Fuentes said.

Mayor Cornejo stated in his protest that the duty of the Texas Rangers should be to protect the new city council in its functions instead of harassing it, Fuentes said. Cornejo could not be located for personal verification of the protest.

Fuentes said Cornejo told him that Allee "interferes constantly" in city council meetings.

MAYOR CORNEJO

RANGER ALLEE

"He's A Liar"

Told by San Antonio News that Cornejo had accused him of harassment, Captain Allee said:

"He's a liar."

Advised that Cornejo had accused Allee of taking Cornejo from a meeting and questioning him, Allee said:

"I didn't take him out of a council meeting. It's all understood. I sure didn't do it."

He said, however, he had talked with Cornejo late Friday after Hunter Bennett, a Crystal City gas company employee, had gone to a council meeting to get Councilman Manuel Maldonado to attend another meeting. Allee said the second meeting was held but he did not know what was discussed.

He said Cornejo objected to Bennett about Maldonado being called to the meeting and "it looked like there was going to be trouble."

Allee continued:

"Enforce Law"

"I told Cornejo that I was here to enforce law and order, and if you're going to jump on a citizen you're going to start something and that is what we are trying to prevent.

"As far as I know, there were no ill feelings. I have not harassed him or anyone else.

Man Who Asked Union Help in Valley Fired

3/31/6 San Antonio Express

RIO GRANDE CITY (UPI) — Margil Sanchez, who asked the Teamsters Union to help organize Rio Grande Valley farm workers, has lost his job and farmers have scheduled an emergency meeting Monday to plan ways to prevent such organizing.

Sanchez said he had been fired from his job as assistant manager for the Brown Farmers Co.

POLITICAL MOVE?

Farmers planned to fight attempts to organize their workers if that fails, they said they would move to crops that do not need hand labor.

Former State Rep. Arnold Valehead of the to-power "New Party" in Mart Cuadly, charged that the attempt to organize the workers was "politically inspired" and it looked like an attempt by the labor unions to set up another Crystal City in the valley.

The Teamsters and the Political Association of Spanish - Speaking Organizations, helped elect five Latin Americans into the city council at Crystal City April 8.

Sanchez said he was told by letter that he was fired.

His company told him he was fired "for reasons beyond their control."

Sanchez said his only interest was to help Starr County workers get "an honest day's wage for an honest day's work."

Bob Lilly, president of the Valley Farm Bureau, said several farm organizations will be represented at the meeting in Rio Grande City Monday.

FIGHT UNIONIZATION

They include the Texas Canners and Preservers Association, the Texas Citrus and Vegetable Growers and Shippers Association, the Valley Citrus Growers Association and the Texas Citrus Mutual.

Lilly said he was sure the farm groups will formulate a plan to fight unionization because "I believe that in one than you can get the farmers together on."

Crystal's Chief Asks Jobless Aid

4/4/6 Express & News

Leader of Crystal City's victorious Latin American ticket, which swept out incumbents in last Tuesday's election, wants unemployment compensation.

Manuel Maldonado said he will ask for jobless pay because he was fired from his job as assistant manager of a Crystal City store the day after election and because he will draw no pay as a city councilman.

Maldonado reported in San Antonio that he was told he would have to resign because he had campaigned on the store's time and that when he refused, he was fired.

He said he does not blame the manager, who he believes was forced to the move by customer pressure.

Maldonado was in San Antonio to confer with Albert Fuentes Jr., executive secretary of the Political Assn. for Spanish-speaking Organizations. He was accompanied by three other winners, Juan Cornejo, Mario Hernandez and Reynaldo Mendoza.

E 4-5-63 Express

Crystal City Winner Says He's Been Fired

The man who led the five-man Latin American ticket which swept into office in Crystal City Tuesday said in San Antonio Thursday night he was fired from his job the day after the election.

Manuel Maldonado said he has applied for unemployment compensation — noting he will draw no salary in his councilman's spot, which becomes effective April 16.

Maldonado said the manager of the Economart, a hardware and chemical store in Crystal City, told him Wednesday morning he would have to resign his job as assistant manager because he campaigned during his duty hours.

The Citizens Committee for Better Government candidate, in Iowa with three of the other victorious candidates to map strategy for the Saturday school election — to which the committee has two candidates — denied he campaigned during duty hours.

Maldonado said, however, he had no hard feelings toward the manager, contending the manager was "pressured" into firing him by customers.

He said the manager came in at 9 a.m. Wednesday — Maldonado said he opened the store at 8 a.m. — and told him he would have to resign because he had violated the firm's agreement with him that he would not campaign while working. Maldonado said he refused to resign, forcing the manager to fire him.

Maldonado said he hopes the unemployment check from the Texas Employment Commission comes in soon. He said he is married and has five children. He said he knew the council job paid no salary when he ran for the office.

In San Antonio with Maldonado Thursday night to confer with Albert Fuentes Jr., executive secretary of the state Political Assn. of Spanish - speaking Organizations, were Juan Cornejo, Reynaldo Mendoza and Mario Hernandez.

Fuentes said, ironically, Maldonado, although he led the ticket, campaigned less than the other four candidates.

Politics on Job Cause of Firing, Employer Reports

Maldonado

Manuel Maldonado, one of the five winning candidates in last Tuesday's city election at Crystal City, was fired from his job because he "mixed politics" with his duties, his former employer said Friday.

C.O. Segrarek, manager of the Economart in Crystal City, where Maldonado was employed, denied outside pressure forced him to fire the city councilman-elect.

"He was told not to mix politics with his job and he still kept on distributing campaign propaganda during working hours," Segrarek said. "For that reason and another we were forced to let him go."

Maldonado said in San Antonio Thursday he was fired after refusing to resign from his position. He added that he assumes no blame on Segrarek because the manager was forced to fire him because of pressure from customers.

Maldonado, one of five Latin Americans who successfully ran on the "Better Government" ticket against the present City Council, said he will ask for unemployment compensation since he is to receive no pay as a councilman.

He and three other winners, Juan Cornejo, Mario Hernandez and Reynaldo Mendoza, were in San Antonio to confer with Albert Fuentes Jr., executive secretary of the Political Assn. for Spanish Speaking Organizations, which backed the ticket.

Meanwhile, J. Myers Cole, special agent in charge of the San Antonio FBI office, confirmed a complaint in connection with the election had been forwarded to Washington. He would make no comment pertaining to the complaint other than to verify that the FBI had received a complaint March 28, which was forwarded to the Washington office.

Martin Garcia, a district director of PASO, told newsmen he had asked the FBI office here to check into alleged civil rights violations.

Garcia said the organization backing the five-man ticket had four specific complaints: that windshields bearing campaign stickers of the Latin American ticket were being smashed; that tacos and tacos were being placed under their cars, that Latins were being harassed and that the local marshal had ignored their complaints.

Throughout the entire campaign and election city officials have denied any discrimination charges.

S.A. Express 4-1-63

Fl. with Star Telegram

Connally Gets Criticism On Texas Ranger Action

BY PEGGY SIMPSON

AUSTIN, May 1 (AP) — Crystal City Latin Americans are "deeply concerned" about Gov. John Connally's support of Texas Ranger Capt. Alfred Allee, one citizen said Tuesday.

Tomas M. Rodriguez told the governor in a telegram he and a "substantial group of our citizens of Latin extract are greatly surprized and concerned" about Connally's endorsement of Allee's attitude.

Monday Connally said Rangers would stay in the Southwest Texas city "as long as the situation warrants" and he asked Mayor Juan Cornejo to cooperate with them.

Cornejo complained earlier of harassment by the veteran Ranger captain and said in San Antonio Monday he plans to file assault charges against Allee for allegedly banging the mayor's head against an office wall. Allee denied the charges.

Another Latin American citizen, Frank Guajardo, sent a telegram praising the Rangers' "vital service to this community in keeping the peace during our recent natural crisis. In behalf of all the people of Crystal City we urge you to keep them here in sufficient number as long as you deem necessary. Captain Allee is well aware of this situation and we appreciate everything they have done," Guajardo is president of the Mexican Chamber of Commerce.

Cornejo and State Rep. John Alanis of San Antonio asked the governor and state attorney general to investigate alleged civil rights violations. "We are in a state of fear and intimidation. We need help," Cornejo said.

Connally replied that "the Texas Rangers were sent to Crystal City for the sole purpose of maintaining law and order and to prevent violence. Apparently their efforts have been successful to date and they will remain as long as the situation warrants.

"Every effort will be made to insure that all are treated fairly and that the elected officials may perform their duties. I urge your cooperation with the Rangers and Captain Allee in keeping the peace and they will cooperate with you in every way in the performance of your duties."

CRYSTAL CITY HAS NEW MANAGER

CRYSTAL CITY, May 1 (AP) — George Ozuna Jr. of San Antonio assumed the duties of city manager Wednesday after the City Council accepted the resignation of James Dill in a tense seven-minute session Tuesday night.

About 300 persons gathered outside the city hall prior to the meeting.

Observers said the crowd apparently was drawn to the meeting expecting new developments concerning Mayor Juan Cornejo's charges against Texas Ranger Capt. Alfred Allee.

Allee, whom Cornejo has charged roughed him up, was at the meeting.

TITLE II - INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS.

This particular subject is easy for one like me, for I still remember when I was about 5 years old I'd go to town to a movie (a Mexican movie) and I went to a cafe for a glass of water, they told me I'd have to drink it outside, I asked for a hamburger and they said that there was a window outside that I had to order there and take it with me, "Mexicans aren't allowed in here", they said.

Around 1938 or so, Judge Allred made the historic decision that I guess you could almost compare to Civil Rights Legislation of the times, he handed down the decision that "Mexicans" were white. This I'm still not sure inured to our benefit it may have hurt. In either case the powers that be had their job cut out for them. Not to comply but to find ways to avoid compliance, for throughout South Texas, the most common sign on places of public accommodation were "Whites Only - No Mexicans Allowed". It didn't take long, though for the anglo to learn how to circumvent Judge Allred's ruling. Soon the "White Only" was removed and the signs just read "No Mexicans." I guess World War II was mostly responsible for ending a lot of the discrimination, the boys became pretty rough on places that denied service, especially in South Texas, this later spread north, and also the many court cases fought by Albert Pena, Gus Garcia, Carlos Cadena and others on school segregation that progressed the isolating of discrimination in public places.

However, discrimination still exists in public accommodations in Texas against Latin Americans. Agreed, few and far between, but there is no such thing as an apple being a little rotten, it is or it isn't. Its like cancer, you cannot say that because it is a small infection on the small toe of the foot and far removed from the heart, that it is minor, if it is not stopped, quickly, it will soon kill the body. As late as 1960 or '61 a city councilman and his wife were refused service "Because they were Mexicans." Now Congressman Henry Gonzales in 1955, then Mayor Pro-Tem of San Antonio, Texas, was refused admittance to a privately-owned public park in New Braunfels, Texas. In 1961 PASO protested the denial of "Mexicans" (Americans of Mexican descent) use of the city swimming pool in Kenedy, Karnes County, Texas (the population is 58% Latin). The City Council rather than integrate Latin Americans to swimming pools, closed the pool and private businessmen built a private pool, closed to Latin Americans today. This was also true at Crystal City.

In Kingsville, Texas, Kleberg County, the only Country Club, refused admittance to Latin Americans because the by-laws of the Club were for white only, they filed suit in a local court but the decision interpreted the by-laws as meaning "White Caucasian only" and after all a Latin is not "White Caucasian." Ridiculous, it may be, but to a Latin it is a serious denial of what we call American Democracy and certainly puts Latins in the position of asking "what is first class citizenship?"

In San Antonio, in 1953 or '54, their councilman, Henry B. Gonzales forced an issue on the City Council, forbidding segrega-

tion in public pools. It was for negroes to swim, because Latins already could, but was unseen in the headlines was the fact that a pool is in Alamo Heights (a suburb) Latins were not permitted, but not that Negroes were allowed so were Latins.

I also recall the 1957 session of the State Legislature, when some terrible race bills were introduced in the State Senate, designed to circumvent the school integration of Negroes, then State Senator Henry B. Gonzales fought them bitterly. Gonzales tells of a conversation between himself and the then Governor Price Daniel. Henry said the Governor approached him and said, "Henry, I don't see why you want to fight these bills, they apply to Negroes only it won't affect your people." And Henry said, "Well, Governor, why don't you put Negroes only in the bill, because the way its written it doesn't restrict its effect, so far as I'm concerned, it's negroes in East Texas and Mexicans in South Texas.

Yes, gentlemen, I think that Title II is vital for all Americans because to a dedicated American who has shed blood for the USA on foreign soil defending 100% citizenship and 100% freedom, 90% is not good enough.

TITLE III DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Here again, gentlemen, the problem is close to home. For with all the bitter court fights that LULAC (League of United Latin-American Citizens) has fought since the early thirties and the American G. I. Forum since World War II, segregation in schools still exists in Texas. True it is not as pronounced as in the caae of negroes, but it does exist, under the guise of language

barriers etc., whole classrooms of Latins are segregated. As late as 1962, protests have been filed and will continue to be filed every time this condition is ferreted out. Lack of knowledge as to recourse by the average citizen has delayed bringing about more suits, also, lack of finances to do so has detracted. But with this type of legislation being proposed it could speed up, equal educational opportunities for Latin Americans.

We must recognize, that the only reason, other inequities have existed among Latin Americans in Texas is the lack of education as to recourse (provided you can afford the recourse) and education is to be the answer, so certainly, here, no measure can be too drastic to insure equal opportunity for education. This is the core of future opportunity for equality.

TITLE IV - ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE AND
TITLE V - COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

These two titles without question are vital to a workable Civil Rights program. Experience shows as some of the previous statements show, that laws without proper methods of insuring their compliance with proper recourse, not at the expense of the individual but at the properly channeled obligation of his government to assure every citizen that his voice will be heard if he is wronged.

TITLE VI - NON-DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS.

This area certainly needs to be strengthened and enforced, for I think that it will suffice to say that Federal Funds are tax funds, tax funds are peoples money, and certainly my money should be withheld from any Federally assisted project if my money

is used to discriminate against me. For as I see all of the Negroes, Latins, Jews, and other discriminated in public places, employment, education, etc., none of tnem are excused their taxes, or excused their duty in the armed services to defend their country (nor do I think they would want to be excused). It seems that they are given first class status in pay or discharging obligations but second class status in exercising their rights, this can never be reconciled as fair or just.

TITLE VII COMMISSION ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

At this point I would like to remind the commission that, as I prepared this statement, no great research program was executed to come up with some of the statements and figure in this presentation, I have only repeated a few of the activities I have learned from personal experience and contacts during my everyday life.

For I know that if a detailed study were initiated and material already in print such as books and statements by Dr. Geo. I. Sanchez of the University of Texas and others gathered, I would have testimony and facts and witnesses enough for many weeks of review. I merely scratch the surface and hope you will consider it as such.

Equal Employment Opportunity is probably one of the most vital programs that need to be strengthened and enforced, for it is here that all of the effort of the parent to sacrifice and educate his children so that they may better provide for themselves and their families and certainly to be able to contribute much more to their country is guided.

However this is not the case today.

I would, again, make reference to the remarks that Governor Connally of Texas, made just a day or two ago and may be making today.

He said he is proud of the progress made so far in Civil Rights in Texas. I have cited the political appointed situation and the elective official problem, but let us look further; there are no Texas Rangers of Mexican descent, there are no Texas Highway Patrolmen Latin-Americans, there are no Latin-Americans in executive or administrative capacities or in State Government in Texas without exception of the Highway Department, Insurance Commission, game and fish or any other departments. In 1961 there was not a single state employee of Latin-American descent in the State Capitol, with the exception of some of the personal staff of some elected officials and this was minor.

This also reflects the fact that in San Antonio, the city-owned boards hired no Latins in capacities of executive or administrative quantity and the majority not even in clerical positions.

However, I must say Latins abound in the common labor sections of these functions.

The City Public Service Company in San Antonio maintains a club room for employees, called the Live-Wire Club, but this is for anglos only, across the maintenance yard is an old building that houses the Latin Club, for Latins only. When confronted, the board said the Latins preferred it that way. Of course it may be difficult to get Latins to say otherwise, after all you have seen

what happens to others that want to protest and you must eat. So accept? Yes, prefer? No. No man ever preferred being second class. A man will suffer many indignities when he needs to feed his family but he will never enjoy the freedom of being a man equal among men in a free society as long as race color or creed or national origin relegate him to second class.

Let us look at another county, Kleberg, Kingsville, the County Seat, the home of Texas A & I College and the great King Rang. The vast majority of the population of Kleberg bears spanish surnames, yet, not a single engineer nor administrator, not even a skilled worker has been hired to date by the Celeanese Corp. operating in Kleberg County just outside the City limits of Kingsville. Many Spanish surname engineers have applied for positions at Celanese, all graduates of A & I colleges or some other state colleges or University. The only Spanish surname people employee are common labor. We feel it more than coincidence, not a single Spanish surname Texan is employed by the Humble Oil Company, other than labor in that county. The Kleberg First National Bank does not have a single cashier, clerk or administrator with a Spanish surname. Yet about 1/3 or approximately 300 of the graduates at Texas A & I college are American with Spanish surnames.

The high school in Kingsville does not have a single spanish surname teacher teaching any academica course.

At this point let me say that Kleberg County is one of the counties that has progressed more than others in Texas.

Back in San Antonia, Texas, no law firm with more than six

employees have any Latin American employees. This in view of the fact that about 1/3 of the lawyers in San Antonio are Latin American - not one single Latin American lawyer is retained by the City of San Antonio or by any Board of the City.

There are no Latin Americans employed in an executive or administrative capacity in the River Authority Water Board, Public Service, Transit Board, Etc.

This just mentions a few instances but is repeated time and again throughout the State, from the Capitol, the Capitol building on down to private employment. The Government may be proud but we are not.

Attached you will see a picture of some ads clipped from the San Antonio papers this year, you can see the discrimination is obvious.

Lately, much has been said, about columntary integration, on all levels including jobs. They brag about the fact that 80% are willing to integrate employment, etc. When a person of a minority group who knows there is discrimination in hiring goes out and looks for a job, he possibly in such an atmosphere walks out and seeks that job with equal confidence? The voluntary bit, only changes the position of the so-called majority group, but it does not change, in one respect, the position of the minority, because they know that discrimination exists somewhere and they are afraid to go in some place because it may be one of the 20% that discriminates and from the beginning he is still on the defensive.

Yes, the 80% employers may have their conscious soothed, and his position may change, but the prospective employee still discriminated even though in a small number of places, he has not had his position changed much.

What good is education? What good is it that I sacrifice and aducate my boy? When he graduates he can't find a job to fit his education because he is dark skinned and Mexican?

Frankly, I don't always have the right answer, I merely say, with more of our people educated we will be better armed to insure that some day, laws will be passed and enforced that will assure equality of opportunity to exert ourselves in those capacities for which we are qualified regardless of race color or creed.

This bill, gentlemen, lacks many things, it is not forceful enough, it is not mandatory enough, but as we say, in South Texas when you're sleeping on floor you can't fall out of bed.

We need some relief.

As citizens of these great United States, sharing the full responsibility of our obligations, this will be but a stepping stone for the furtherance of the needs for complete freedom and opportunity of equality which I know will someday come to all people of America regardless of race, color, or creed.

For the world has become very small, gentlemen, and our position as leaders in the free world will be short lived unless we recognize that we can no longer preach freedom, we must live it. Our neighbors to the South in Mexico and beyond do not agree with go slow, and moderation, freedom was supposed to completely exist,

not progress slowly to its completion. Our country was supposed to be founded on freedom, not on voluntary experimentation, to see if the Latin American (American citizen) is qualified for the equality the United States preaches is the cornerstone of Democracy.

We cannot say we have built a great free nation without a foundation and now we will try to place a cornerstone, freedom for its people on a voluntary basis.

This type legislation is long over due, go slow, is only for those who would fear the promise of the future for free men, moderation is for those to whom their own foundation is not based on equality and justice, and these are not true Americans.

In closing may I say again that this bill is not all it should be, but as it is, it is vitally needed to justify the hunger for freedom which burns within the bodies of minorities, and what is the United States of America if it is not the minorities of the world united for freedom regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Highland Park
$275 DOWN
Perfect 3 bedroom home for $
Payments only $68—why rent?
LE4-8893 or LE2-
WALTER BARNEBEY CO.

Highland Hills
We have fine house for you 3302 Golden Crown 3 bedrooms, 2 baths; only year old well taken care of, like new, central heat, hardwood block garbage disposal, fenced for you to enjoy. See it available.
-181 Ed3-1764

MRS. LAMAR WEAVER

Bermadine
Realty LE4-2275

Edna Rosin

DAN
hey Need
your home
less than rent
E DISPLAY
WA2-6308

South Loop Lbr. Co.

PART time Anglo man with car to assist me in my business. LE2-5906 Mr. Symons, 8 p.m. to 9 p.m. only.

BUS BOY—DISHWASHER
Young Latin American. Apply in person. New Mexican Manhattan.

EXPERIENCED
Anglo Waitress
Crockett Hotel
Coffee Shop
301 E. Crockett
No phone calls, please

MANAGER TRAINEE
National Consumer Finance Company
Needs Anglo man for manager trainee. Rapid advancement through our progressive training program to branch manager. Group insurance and paid retirement plan. Age 21 to 30.
$290 and CAR ALLOWANCE TO START. Must own auto and be high school graduate.

Would you work for $2.25 per hour?
Openings for 2 anglo men. Hard work, good pay! Call DI4-3221.

Joe Casanova
PE4-1579
TA4-3734

General Office Clerk
Anglo. Must be good typist. Above average salary to start.
Apply 335 NEW MOORE BLDG.
Mrs. Bradford 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.

LATIN GIRL 21 TO 28
TO WORK IN ICE HOUSE
Apply in person to 210 Lexington

Home 12 Extras Lots
D. F. SAUNDERS LE2-454

COUNTRY LIVING

Estate for Colored

0 to Move

PARK
— 2 B
equity

BOYS

ATTENTION DEVELOPERS
acre tract, close in, utilities
easy financing.
10 ACRES—all

C. M. Fu
beautiful large 2-bedroom
84 acres on FM 1516, 4 miles
Utility washroom, garage
wiring, school bus stops
house. Only $18,500. Terms.
Sunday.
G. G. SPECKELS, CA6-5881

room rock 'n tree
Nice selection
up
ESTATES
2 bath, st
home N.
OX4-3

ACRE

Lacklic

ND PARK
two-bedroom home. Big
separate dining, fireplace,
enclosed porch. Convenient to
shopping, FHA appraisal $9,900;
down, $72 month; or make big
saving by buying equity. By owner
Topeka. LE3-0732.
HALLIE Ave. 2-bedroom
venetian blinds, wash house
price $4,000. LE2-2297.
W. W. WHITE RD.
ft. frontage by 405
business lot plus lovely
den home. Price reduced
Westheimer LE2-5695

DOROTHY

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X978-CDO-United
Quote Work Force

TESTIMONY OF

WALTER P. REUTHER

PRESIDENT, UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS

BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5 OF THE

HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

JULY 19, 1963

My name is Walter P. Reuther. I am president of the International Union of Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers and of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO and I appear here today on behalf of both organizations. We appreciate this opportunity to present our views to this Committee and to urge you to report out a bill at least as strong as President Kennedy's H.R. 7152 and, if possible, a stronger bill.

The House Judiciary Committee has an exceedingly proud record of achievement. But nothing that this Committee has ever accomplished in war or peace throughout its long history has greater significance for our country than the decision you will soon be making on the President's civil rights bill. Yours is the opportunity to move this nation forward toward the promise of democracy that all men are equal. You will not be true to yourselves or to that promise if you fail to seize this great opportunity.

The eyes of the nation are upon your Committee. Later on, they may be upon the Rules Committee or the whole House or the minority that resorts to filibuster in the Senate, but right now they are on you. If this Committee reports out the President's bill, strengthened if possible, you will be living up to your time-honored traditions. But if you compromise one principle of this bill, if you weaken it one scintilla, you will have failed a nation urgently looking to you for leadership.

Mr. Chairman, the facts which have made this legislation necessary are not in dispute. There is no denying from any member of this Committee that Negroes are denied the right to vote, that school desegregation is too often a bitter joke in some states, that Negroes are deprived of the right to drink a glass

of water or to stay overnight in a motel, and that civil rights is the urgent number one issue before the American people today.

We support the President's bill as a strong first legislative step towards the goal of a federal code of civil rights that will guarantee all Americans equality in law and equality in fact. President Kennedy's courageous action deserves the loyalty and support of all Americans regardless of race, color, or political party.

The President's bill is only a beginning, though a vital and necessary beginning, toward that goal. Despite loose talk by opponents of civil rights, the President's bill is a moderate and restrained proposal. Indeed, our union urged the President to ask Congress for far more--for a Fair Employment Practices Commission, for federal voting registrars who will make the right to vote an American reality, for an across-the-board Part III so the Attorney General can protect all constitutional rights of Negroes, for a requirement that all school districts commence desegregation here and now. All of these bills and more yet are needed if we are to stamp out discrimination and segregation from the length and breadth of this land. But the President, who I am confident believes in civil rights every bit as much as anyone in this hearing room this morning, has decided to move forward in stages rather than all at once. Your Committee certainly cannot do less than he has asked; we urge it to do more.

The single most important part of H.R. 7152 is Title II, the public accommodations bill. Discrimination in public facilities has been a national disgrace for far too long. by ending it now, by protecting every human being from Maine to California against the colossal indignity of a refusal of service, the 88th Congress will only be catching up at long last with the 44th Congress which sought to end discrimination by enacting just such a law as long ago as 1875. We can never recoup the loss to democracy in these long years of discrimination against Negroes. But we can--and we must--stop it now.

One good way of measuring the validity of any proposal is by taking a good look at the arguments being made against it. Even the most cursory examination of the current arguments against the public accommodations bill will demonstrate

that they are shallow in content and defeatist in spirit. These voices of the past must not be permitted to thwart the will and vision of a nation ready, willing, and anxious for true equality.

Some say the public accommodations bill is unconstitutional. But what of the commerce clause of our Constitution which has been the firm base on which most of our economic legislation has long been predicated? Can anyone seriously argue that Congress has power to regulate the color of the margarine that goes on the restaurant table but not the color of the citizen who may sit at that table? And what of the Fourteenth Amendment which gives Congress express authority to implement the right to the equal protection of the laws?

I am not a lawyer, but the impression I have from the newspaper accounts of these hearings is that there is so much constitutional underpinning for this bill that most people are arguing whether to predicate the bill on the commerce clause or on the Fourteenth Amendment. I am sure the Negro and his family who have been traveling all day don't care much for the legal quibble whether the right to a night's lodging is based on one or the other. I am sure, too, what we would do in a collective bargaining situation if we had two good arguments in support of our case--we would simply use them both. I respectfully suggest to your Committee that the same principle might go pretty well here.

There is very direct precedent for combining the commerce clause and the Fourteenth Amendment as the constitutional underpinning for the President's civil rights program. The Tennessee Valley Authority was based on three constitutional powers--the war power, the navigation power, and the right to dispose of property. The Holding Company Act and the Securities Exchange Act were both based on the commerce and postal powers of the Constitution. It is time to stop arguing and start legislating.

Some say the bill interferes with property rights. But I refuse to accept the principle that our democratic society affirms a property right to discriminate against Negroes. Once a man holds out his property to the public, once he asks the public to deal with him, he ought not be heard to say that his property is open to

all the public except Negroes. Property rights are important in our society, but they must never be permitted to overshadow human rights and human dignity.

Some say that it is unfair to cover Mrs. Murphy's rooming house and therefore we must exempt from the bill small public facilities of all kinds. But the conclusion does not follow the premise. The right to choose roomers in one's own residence is one thing; but this right of privacy in one's residence has no applicability to a small commercial hotel, a small restaurant, a bowling alley, or a barber shop. A Negro seeking service at a small lunch counter can be just as hungry as the one who stops at Howard Johnson's.

The public accommodations title of this bill is too important to be compromised by limiting either the size or type of establishment covered or the means of enforcing the right to equal service. We need a public accommodations bill with teeth in it. Most proprietors of public establishments want to do the right thing, but they are concerned lest their competitors gain an advantage by continuing old discriminatory practices. A strong bill will let those who open their facilities to everyone do so with confidence that others will have to do likewise. Toward this end, we would urge that the Committee consider, in addition to the sanctions now in the bill, providing that anyone who has been wrongfully excluded from a public facility be entitled to recover a flat sum in damages. Not only the patron but the public-spirited proprietor will benefit from an enforceable public accommodations measure.

There is great goodwill in America in all parts of the country to do the right thing. The Deerfield prejudice of Illinois suburbia is just as evil as the Bull Connor prejudice of the South. Down deep in the hearts of most Americans there is the desire to do the right thing--but the right thing will not be possible in Chicago or Birmingham unless there are strong laws backed up by the power of the Federal Government.

Sweatshop employers a generation ago, and today, are a constant embarrassment to enlightened employers. Strong labor laws are welcomed by employers who want to do the right thing, and strong civil rights laws are welcomed by businessmen,

labor unions, school boards, state officials, voting registrars, and others who want to do the right thing with respect to first-class citizenship for all Americans.

Second only to the public facilities title are the school desegregation provisions.

Under Title III of the bill, technical assistance, grants and loans would be made available to school boards to meet problems arising out of school desegregation or the adjustment of racial imbalance in schools.

The more important part of this Title authorizes the Attorney General to institute civil actions for school desegregation upon receipt of complaints and a determination that the complainants are unable to institute legal proceedings.

As the Attorney General made clear in his testimony before this Committee on June 26, this Title "would thus combine a program of aid to segregated school systems, which are attempting in good faith to meet the demands of the Constitution, with a program of effective legal action by the federal government. . . these programs would smooth the path upon which the nation was set by the Brown decision."

The crisis in school desegregation--national dissatisfaction with the snail-like pace toward compliance with the Brown decision--was evident long before the protest marchers of Birmingham initiated a new era in America. Back in 1960, both parties pledged action on school desegregation along the lines of Title III of H.R. 7152; the Democrats went even further and pledged legislation that school districts must begin complying with the Supreme Court's decision in 1963. We would prefer the stronger measure pledged by the Democrats, but we support the proposal in the bill before you as a significant step toward speeding up school desegregation.

The present rate of school desegregation is a national disgrace. More than nine years after the Supreme Court held segregated schooling unconstitutional, most school districts in the South still act as though nothing whatever has happened. Only .3 of one percent of the Negroes of the Southern states are in integrated schools and at the present rate of token integration it will be some time in the 21st century before this problem is resolved. We cannot accept 21st century

integration; we cannot accept 1970 integration. We need school integration now.

There are other significant provisions of the bill besides the public facilities and school desegregation provisions. Title I reenforces the 1957 and 1960 voting laws and gives the Department of Justice useful tools in this important area. Title IV provides a Community Relations Service which will serve the useful function of bringing together people of influence in both races to work toward elimination of discriminatory practices. Title V wisely extends the life of the Commission on Civil Rights and authorises it to serve as a national clearing house to provide information , advice, and technical assistance to private and public agencies. Title VI reenforces existing Presidential authority by placing Congress on record behind the withholding of federal funds from any program or activity that receives federal assistance, directly or indirectly, by way of grant, contract, loan, insurance, guaranty, or otherwise, when discrimination is found in such a program or activity. Title VII appropriately gives statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Each of these provisions is needed; together they add impetus to the drive to build a better America respected throughout the world.

Prejudice is not an American product. In my travels around the world I have discovered that there is race prejudice in every land--India, Japan, the countries of Western Europe--yes, even in Africa there is race prejudice. But, as Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State said only last week--more is expected of us because we claim more. The Declaration of Independence proclaims that all men are created equal and that all men have a right to equal opportunity. All that we are asking Congress to do today is to make sure that these promises are guaranteed in a way that reaches up to the very best of the American dream.

Some day there will be a federal Code of Civil Rights which will protect every American, from birth to death, against discrimination in voting, in housing, in education, in employment, in public accommodations. Such a legal code of racial security will be the fulfillment of the promise of our forefathers that all men are in fact equal beings. Some day, after this Code has been accepted by all

Americans, prejudice will end and the Code will fall into disuse. Such a Code of Civil Rights will have set a standard of conduct that will make fair practices in all walks of life not only a rule of conduct but a condition of mind and of heart. This bill will not accomplish all that needs to be done, but we must begin the crusade to reach that goal. The first step is for your Committee to report out this bill, H. R. 7152, strengthened to the best of your ability and your belief.

The question of civil rights and equal opportunity transcends the question of partisan politics because this is essentially a moral question that bears upon the relationship of man to man in a free society.

As an American, I stand for equal opportunity and full constitutional rights for all our people as a matter of morality, decency, and simple justice. I am for civil rights and equal opportunity because freedom is an indivisible value and so long as any person is denied his freedom, my freedom is in jeopardy. I am for civil rights and equal opportunity because American democracy cannot defend freedom in Berlin so long as we continue to deny freedom in Birmingham.

We can make our own freedom secure only as we make freedom universal so that all may share its blessings. We cannot successfully preach democracy in the world unless we first practice democracy at home. American democracy will lack the moral credentials and be both unequal to and unworthy of leading the forces of freedom against the forces of tyranny unless we take bold, affirmative, adequate steps to bridge the moral gap between American democracy's noble promises and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights.

There is no half-way house to human freedom. What is needed in the present crisis is not half-way and half-hearted measures but action bold and adequate to square American democracy's performance with its promise of full citizenship rights and equal opportunity for all Americans.

# # #

Original sent to Tom Owens.

per L.N.S.
7-3-63

THE ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS OF AMERICA, INC.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE ✓
Civil Rights
Associated General Contractors of America, Inc.

20TH AND E STREETS, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • TELEPHONE EXECUTIVE 3-2000

June 28, 1963
Bul. #4-63 G.S.

TO SECRETARIES AND MANAGERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND MEMBERS OF THE LABOR & APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEES

SUBJECT: AGC Policy on Non-Discrimination in Employment and Apprentice Training Programs

The Labor Subcommittee at its meeting in Washington on June 26 gave careful consideration to the statement of the Presidents of the International Unions affiliated with the Building Trades Department, AFL-CIO, concerning non-discriminatory employment policies in the construction industry. This is the Subcommittee's statement:

"The Subcommittee recommends the wholehearted endorsement of the following 4-point program announced by the International Presidents which reads:

" '1. In order to avoid discrimination, local unions are urged to accept into membership any applicant who meets the required qualifications regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

" '2. If a local union has an agreement which provides for, and operates, an exclusive hiring hall, all applicants for employment are to be placed upon the hiring list in accordance with the applicable law and their collective bargaining agreement. There is to be no identification of applicants as to race, creed, color or national origin, and they are to be referred without discrimination as their turn comes up on the hiring list, if their qualifications meet those required by the employer.

" '3. If the local unions do not have an exclusive hiring hall, but do have a referral system set forth in their collective bargaining agreement, qualified applicants for employment are to be referred without discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin.

" '4. With regard to the application for, or employment of apprentices, local unions shall accept, and refer, such applicants in accordance with their qualifications and there shall be no discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin, and the local unions shall adhere strictly to their apprenticeship standards.' "

"The Subcommittee believes that this program, if conscientiously adopted at the local level, will go far toward correcting any injustices that may have existed in construction industry employment practices.

"The Subcommittee recommends that management representatives seek prompt meetings with local union representatives on joint apprenticeship committees, joint negotiating committees, and joint grievance committees to the end that this policy may be promptly and fully implemented at the local level.

"The Subcommittee believes that AGC members must take vigorous action to assure that their hiring practices are not discriminatory, including those cases where exclusive hiring halls or other referral systems are involved."

President Keller had stated earlier that: "It is the policy of AGC that apprenticeship programs and employment practices should be conducted on a basis to assure that there is no discrimination in either because of race, creed or color. The program of the International Presidents indicates that the contractors and the unions working together can in time accomplish this objective."

Sincerely,

William E. Dunn

William E. Dunn
Executive Director

THE ASSOCIATED GENERAL CONTRACTORS OF AMERICA, INC.

10TH AND E STREETS, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • TELEPHONE EXECUTIVE 3-2040

June 28, 1963
Bul. #4-63 G.S.

TO SECRETARIES AND MANAGERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND MEMBERS OF THE LABOR & APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEES

SUBJECT: AGC Policy on Non-Discrimination in Employment and Apprentice Training Programs

The Labor Subcommittee at its meeting in Washington on June 26 gave careful consideration to the statement of the Presidents of the International Unions affiliated with the Building Trades Department, AFL-CIO, concerning non-discriminatory employment policies in the construction industry. This is the Subcommittee's statement:

"The Subcommittee recommends the wholehearted endorsement of the following 4-point program announced by the International Presidents which reads:

" '1. In order to avoid discrimination, local unions are urged to accept into membership any applicant who meets the required qualifications regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

" '2. If a local union has an agreement which provides for, and operates, an exclusive hiring hall, all applicants for employment are to be placed upon the hiring list in accordance with the applicable law and their collective bargaining agreement. There is to be no identification of applicants as to race, creed, color or national origin, and they are to be referred without discrimination as their turn comes up on the hiring list, if their qualifications meet those required by the employer.

" '3. If the local unions do not have an exclusive hiring hall, but do have a referral system set forth in their collective bargaining agreement, qualified applicants for employment are to be referred without discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin.

" '4. With regard to the application for, or employment of apprentices, local unions shall accept, and refer, such applicants in accordance with their qualifications and there shall be no discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin, and the local unions shall adhere strictly to their apprenticeship standards.' "

"The Subcommittee believes that this program, if conscientiously adopted at the local level, will go far toward correcting any injustices that may have existed in construction industry employment practices.

"The Subcommittee recommends that management representatives seek prompt meetings with local union representatives on joint apprenticeship committees, joint negotiating committees, and joint grievance committees to the end that this policy may be promptly and fully implemented at the local level.

"The Subcommittee believes that AGC members must take vigorous action to assure that their hiring practices are not discriminatory, including those cases where exclusive hiring halls or other referral systems are involved."

President Keller had stated earlier that: "It is the policy of AGC that apprenticeship programs and employment practices should be conducted on a basis to assure that there is no discrimination in either because of race, creed or color. The program of the International Presidents indicates that the contractors and the unions working together can in time accomplish this objective."

Sincerely,

William E. Dunn

William E. Dunn
Executive Director

June 21, 1963

NOTE:

This entire question was resolved at the meeting of the General Executive Board, in Washington, D. C. on June 20, 1963.

L. N. Steinberg

Largest Negro Weekly
Newspaper Chain in the World

THE Detroit Courier
AMERICA'S BEST WEEKLY

Member of the Audit
Bureau of Circulation

Published by The Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Company, Inc.

1344 BROADWAY WOodward 3-2444 DETROIT 26, MICH.

June 13, 1963

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X National Negro
Publishers Association
X Webb, Luther
X Exec. Bd. Mtg. 6/20/63

Mr. Jimmy Hoffa
International Labor Headquarters
25 Louisiana Avenue Northwest
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am writing you relative to the coming (23rd annual) convention of the National Negro Publishers Association, scheduled to be held in Detroit, June 26-29.

We are expecting publishers in Detroit from all over the USA, representing nearly 60 newspapers. We are sure that your organization would wish to congratulate them with a national advertisement, as the Courier is circulated over the entire USA and sold internationally.

The advertising itself, may be forwarded direct to Pittsburgh Pennsylvania, 2628 Centre Avenue. Duplicate insertion orders (one for the Detroit office and one for Pittsburgh office would be appreciated.) Deadline for welcome advertising is Wednesday, June 19 for the next issue.

Below are our rates for national advertising from a full page downward:

Full page	(168")	$1,881.60
Half Page	(84")	940.85
One Fourth	(42")	470.85
One Eighth	(21")	235.21

If additional information is needed, please contact me at this office.

Respectfully yours,

Luther Webb

Luther Webb

LW:SMc

From the Desk of:
ALLEN DIGGS

June 18. 1963
Date

Mr. Hoffa said in effect that the Kennedy's announcement that they will seek more civil rights legislation is ridiculous. He said all they needed was to have the guts to enforce laws already on the books and that under the Kennedys the country is under the shadows of fascism.

I have ordered a full text of his statement.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Worthy, William
X

NEW YORK TELEPHONE
SPRING 7-6346

WILLIAM WORTHY
87 HOWLAND STREET
BOSTON 21, MASS. HIGHLANDS 5-2844

Apartment 2
210 East 19th Street
New York 3. New York
June 16, 1963

Mr. Harold J. Gibbons
I. B. T.
25 Louisiana Ave., N.W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Hal:

A single newscast this morning (radio) quoting President Hoffa on Kennedy and the civil rights crisis led me to think that both he and you might be interested in the enclosed item.

Incidentally, I believe the full text of his statement ought to be given to the Negro press promptly -- at least to the Baltimore Afro-American (P.O. Box 1857), Chicago Defender (2400 S. Michigan), Pittsburgh Courier (2628 Centre Ave.) and Associated Negro Press, 3531 S. Parkway, Chicago 15, Ill.

I too could appreciate receiving several copies, since I could not find the story in todsy's New York papers.

In the near future I intend to be writing and speaking more about the idea of a Freedom Now Party. I think it is clear that any such party should have a platform of radical economic and social demands for all workers, and not just be an expression of black nationalism. This week even U. S. News and World Report (June 17 issue - pages 44-45) says that overemployment "without war" is the only way to solve Negroes' problems. In a stagnant economy demands for equal job opportunity by King, Wilkins et al. will lead ultimately to a dangerous conflict between Negroes and whites for scarce and "rationed" jobs.

Also, I personally believe that such a party should undertake to demonstrate to Negroes and others that Robert Kennedy in particular is more of a menace than Senator Eastland, because "Bobby" operates under misleading colors and tries to conceal his authoritarian mentality.

Sincerely,

Bill

enclosures: 2

Notes and Comment

THE TALK OF THE TOWN

mild, sunny afternoon last week, we boarded a No. 4 bus at Fifth Avenue and Forty-fourth Street, rode to Lenox Avenue and 110th, and began a long, slow walk through Harlem. It was a day in the city, and the only thing that seemed to set 110th Street apart from any downtown thoroughfare was the number of children playing on the sidewalk and in the street, chattering in Spanish and English, many of them wearing keys around their necks for entering their homes while the adults

pavement, jumping rope, and baseball with bats improvised from wooden sticks pried off cracked window frames. There was an odor of uncollected garbage, but a city garbage truck was creeping slowly down the north side of the street.

We turned the corner uptown on Eighth Avenue and noticed a drug- much like any other, except that the products featured more prominent- than cosmetics were powders for cockroaches and a salve for curing rat bites. On the avenue and the side streets leading to 125th Street we counted sixty-three men, standing outside bars and in the doorways of apartment buildings, engaged in casual conversation, staring off into space, or simply pacing back and forth. Two nightlights, partially in earn- broke out on the corners of 119th and 123rd Streets. Since approximately thirteen per cent of the Harlem labor is unemployed (more than twice the percentage for the city at large), and since the problem of over-population in Harlem is notorious, the "No Loitering" signs on nearly every building seemed to create a certain ness in the occupants, who simply could not find a legally sanctioned wall against which to lean. Billboards on the brick façades of several buildings announced the forthcoming election of Schaefer

Beer's "Miss aux Arts" from eight pretty, ling Negro girls, none of them very k

At Harlem quare, on the corner of Seventh Ave a meeting was in progress. Among e speakers on the platform (obtain after some resistance from Mayor agner, by the Harlem Anti-Colonial omittee) were Sylvester Leaks, wh as introduced as representing Malc X, leader of the Black Muslim mov nt, which favors complete segrega and seeks to gain government of blacks by the blacks; William Wo y, a Negro journalist whose passpo was withdrawn by the t after he made a for- China; and Conrad J. Lynn, a defending lawyer in several Negro cases before Northern and Southern courts. A crowd of seven or eight hundred people had gathered around the platform, which partially obscured the front of a bookshop advertised as "The House of Common Sense and the Home of Proper Propaganda." (The store features books by and about Negroes, and is sponsored by a movement that favors the immediate return of Negro Americans to Africa.)

illiam Worthy was speaking when we arrived. He suggested the formation, by Negroes, of a Freedom Now Party, propose Negro candidates for public offices. "Think about it," he said. "Talk about it. Kick the idea around. We may not win many offices, but with one out of ten Americans a 'Negro' [he apologized briefly for his use of this word, which is in disfavor among Black hms, who prefer the term "Afro-American"], we can make our voice heard in the land." There was applause when Mr. Worthy sat down, and he rose again to say a few more words. "Do you know what would happen if Fidel Castro were President of the United States instead of John F. Kennedy?" Mr. Worthy said. "Bull Connor would be given a fair trial and then shot. Ninety-five per cent of the police would have to flee to South Africa for political asylum. J. Edgar Hoover would be thrown into an *integrated* cell. If that didn't cure him, he would be left there for life." The crowd laughed and applauded.

Mr. Worthy sat down again, and the crowd continued to grow. The next speaker was Conrad Lynn, who, in a hoarse but articulate shout, heaped derision upon Martin Luther King. "King says, 'If blood flows, let it be our blood.' Well, I have news for him. There is going to be a lot of *white* blood flowing in this country—in the North and in the South—until the Negro is accepted as an American citizen. The law is an instrument of oppression. Take it from me; I'm a lawyer and I know. Well, we have guns, and we are going to make our presence felt. When Mayor Wagner refused to let us have this platform, I went as a member of a delegation to City Hall. A Negro policeman was among the whites barring our way—a stooge for the white Boss Man. Perspiration stood out on his brow. Well, we got this platform, and we are going to get our rights. This evening, at nine o'clock, we are going to have a celebration in honor of the victory of Jomo Kenyatta, in Africa. When this meeting is over, I want you all to line up for a protest march to the United Nations, and then to come with your flags to our celebration. I was at a meeting recently, down South, and some white man looked around and said, 'The niggers in this crowd outnumber us two to one!' He didn't count the 'niggers.' He was just scared. They're scared because they have a guilty conscience. Well, we have power, and

HE 4-0003

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Labor-Negro Vanguard
Conference
Coggins, Clarence

Labor-Negro Vanguard Conf

18 GARDNER AVENUE
JERSEY CITY, N. J.

CLARENCE COGGINS
PROVISIONAL CHAIRMAN

May 16, 1963

Mr. James Hoffa, President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I enclose a copy of a letter which I sent to Mr. George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO.

We urge you, as national leaders of the Teamsters, to independently take the actions we have suggested in the letter to Mr. Meany. Such action will strengthen your own unions, and the labor movement as a whole, as well as greatly aid the fight for freedom and democracy in America.

Very truly yours,

Clarence Coggins

Clarence Coggins, Chairman

HE 4-0008

Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference

18 GARDNER AVENUE
JERSEY CITY, N. J.

May 16, 1963

CLARENCE COGGINS
PROVISIONAL CHAIRMAN

Mr. George Meany, President
AFL-CIO
815 16th St., N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mr. Meany:

After heroic struggles and much suffering, Negroes in Birmingham, Alabama, have won a partial victory in their fight for equality and justice. Their victory could have been more complete, and could have been won more quickly and at less cost, if the powerful American labor movement had joined in the struggle. The strength of thousands of American trade unionists, black and white, could strike a tremendous blow against brutality and oppression in the South.

Negroes in Birmingham still face threats of violence. Diehard segregationists refuse to recognize the agreement reached by Negro leaders and white businessmen. Support from the labor movement is needed to guarantee that the Negroes win their rightful demands, without further bloodshed. The same southern Dixiecrats who, in defiance of the federal government, refuse to allow Negroes to live in dignity in their own country, are theenemies of trade unionists all over America. The Negro people and the labor movement together can break the power of these bloodthirsty Bourbons.

We urge you, Mr. Meany, as leader of the largest labor organization in the United States, to take the following actions:

1. Call a special meeting of the FEPC committees of all unions, to be held in Birmingham. The fact of all these unionists, white and Negro, eating, sleeping and working together during their stay, would bring an end to segregation in Birmingham.

2. Call for mass demonstrations by labor in all large cities, in support of Rev. King and the southern freedom fighters.

3. Organize a march on the nation's capital, of labor representatives from all over the country, to call upon the President to provide federal protection for Negroes and whites who demand their full rights as Americans. Prevent a repetition of the shameful Birmingham story - of fire hoses and vicious police dogs being turned against peaceful demonstrators - little children thrown into jail - mob violence and house burnings.

Thousands of Negro dues paying members of the AFL-CIO demand that their organizations join the fight in a militant, demonstrative way.

Very truly yours,

Clarence Coggins, Chairman

To Gibbons

Date 3/1 41 Time

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Mr. Timoney, ~~Dr Manning~~

of Natl Students Coun.

Phone Phila Pa. Opr 440
Area Code Number Extension
BA 2-1106

[redacted]		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
	RETURNED YOUR CALL		

Message re Letter last month. 2/28/63

Operator

EFFICIENCY LINE NO. 2728 - 50 SHEET PAD

3/1

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • AREA CODE 215 • SAring 3-1186 • CABLE NATSTUD

February 28, 1963

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
United States National Student Association
X Manring, Timothy A.

Mr. Harold Gibbons
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gibbons:

The United States National Student Association has long been interested in the civil rights problems in this country, particularly in the south. We have been deeply distressed by the recent events in Mississippi where county officials have cut thousands off the federal government food surplus program. I am sure that you are well aware of the needs of these people, and the desperate situation which they are in. In order to help them, our office is beginning to assess a program. First of all, we have written to nine schools in the midwest in hopes that they can develop full-fledged food drives to collect needed food for people in Mississippi. Once this is started, we will put out a general mailing attempting to get political pressure put on the officials in Mississippi, but more important, getting the federal government to continue the surplus food program. The midwest schools which we are negotiating with include the University of Indiana, Oberlin, Xavier at Cincinnati, Southern Illinois University, University of Wisconsin at Madison, Carleton College in Minnesota, University of Minnesota, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and University of Illinois.

In order for the food drive campaign to be successful, we will need some way to transport the food to Mississippi. I have recently been in contact with the Chicago Area Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. They informed me that you were instrumental in getting the help from the St. Louis Teamsters Local to provide trucking for the nearly fifty thousand pounds which they have been able to collect in Chicago. If we are able to develop food drives in the areas which I mentioned above, would it be possible for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to aid us in transportation of the food, with? The people in the local community would be responsible for unloading the food and hopefully, would send at least one person along with the truck to Mississippi to help at the destination.

I look forward to hearing from you in this regard.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X United States National
Student Association
X Manring, Timothy A.

Very sincerely,

Timothy A. Manring
National Affairs Vice President

TAM:dt

President
W. DENNIS SHAUL
University of Notre Dame
Assistant to the President
DOROTHEA M. BRISCH
Saint John's University

NATIONAL AFFAIRS
Vice President
TIMOTHY A. MANRING
Washington State University
Program Vice President
STEPHEN BROCKBANK
University of Utah
Program Vice President
DENNIS B. TEAGUE
Loyola of the South
Director, Academic Freedom Project
NEAL JOHNSTON
University of Chicago
Administrative Assistant
J. HARRIET DIETZ
Chatham College
Student Government Information Service Director
MARCIA KIRKPATRICK
University of Wisconsin

West Coast Office
7161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California
Educational Travel, Inc.
[illegible]
Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
Vice President
DONALD SMITH
University of Texas
Administrative Assistant
THOMAS F. OSSON
University of Minnesota
Special Assistant
JOSEPH LOVE
Stanford University
Special Assistant
ROBERT W. BACKON
University of Denver
Special Assistant
HENRY N. PATTERSON, JR.
University of North Carolina
Special Assistant
MICHAEL GREENE
Antioch College
Director, Foreign Students Information Service
GEORGE HARTWIGG
University of Chicago
Director
Special Assistant
FRANK CRUMP
Delphian University

NATIONAL ADVISORS
John Cogley
Fund for the Republic
Sidney Hertzberg
Editor
Current Magazine
Rev. T. M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President
University of Notre Dame
Russell Kirk
Editor
The University Bookman
Ralph McGill
Publisher
Atlanta Constitution
Robert H. Shaffer
Dean of Students
Indiana University
Milton Shasp
Champion of the Free Speech Movement
GR. EUGENE FONTINAS
Professor
Queens College
Chairman
Financial Advisory Board
RUTH NAGY BROD

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Tucker, C. Ewbank (Bishop)
X African Methodist
Episcopal Zion Church

January 17, 1963

Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Suite 507, Mammoth Building
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Bishop Tucker:

I have your very kind letter of December 26th, and I appreciate your taking the time out to write.

I too shall look forward to meeting you and shaking your hand.

With best wishes, I remain

Very truly yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH/mc

JU 2-2200

JU 4-7954

SEVENTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

CONFERENCES:
KENTUCKY
WEST ALABAMA
WEST TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
SOUTH MISSISSIPPI

THE RIGHT REVEREND CHARLES EWBANK TUCKER, D.C.L.
PRESIDING BISHOP
HON. AMELIA M. TUCKER, EPISCOPAL SECRETARY
EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE — 1625 W. KENTUCKY STREET
EPISCOPAL OFFICES — SUITE 507 MAMMOTH BUILDING
609 W. WALNUT ST.
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

PRESIDENT
LOUISVILLE CHAPTER
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CHAIRMAN
BOARD OF MINISTERIAL RELIEF
VICE PRESIDENT
KENTUCKY COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
CO-CHAIRMAN
LOUISVILLE INTEGRATION COM.
KENTUCKY COLONEL
(ON GOVERNOR'S STAFF)
MEMBER
BOARD OF DIRECTORS SOUTHERN
CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND
INCORPORATED

December 26, 1962

Mr. James Hoffa
Teamsters' Headquarters
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

It was my intention to send you a telegram to Nashville on the Monday following the jury's disagreement on Sunday. I thought they had ceased deliberating until Monday.

I want you to know that I, with thousands of your admirers in this country, feel as you do - That these prosecutions stem from the venom and prejudice of the little man, Bob Kennedy, who temporarily occupies the position of Attorney General of the United States.

I listened attentively to your statement to the press over Television on Sunday night. I admire your courage and fortitude. As a leader of my race, I want you to know how much I appreciate the position you take on matters affecting my group.

Hoping to have the privilege of meeting you, shaking your hand, and talking with you a few minutes, I remain with continued assurance of my personal goodwill.

Very truly yours,

BISHOP C. EWBANK TUCKER

BCET/jld

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X African-American
Heritage Association
X Poindexter, David R.

May 28, 1962

Mr. Marvin Rich
Director, Community Relations
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Marvin:

The attached communication from the African-American Heritage Association has been received in this office. I am wondering if you know anything about this organization such as political orientation, etc.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant
to the General President

HJG/mc

Enclosure

AFRICAN-AMERICAN HERITAGE ASSOCIATION
306 E. 43rd STREET • SUITE 14 • DR 3-7660 • CHICAGO 15

May 22, 1962

Mr. James Hoffa, President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The board of directors of the African-American Heritage Association, acting your remarks in the press and on television from Philidelphia, voted to extend to you the organization's congratulations and its expression of solidarity with you on your suggestions that the Administration's attacks on labor, particularly your union and yourself personally, were designed to cover up or obscure certain failures, and undelivered promises.

Because we are interested in the maximum unity of labor and the Afro-American community for the mutual benefit of both, we feel it not remiss to remind you of the failures of the Administration also in the area of rights of American citizens of African descent compared to the promises of the Democratic party convention. Public recognition of this reality by a distinguished leader of labor with the stature you enjoy (we do not cede this lily or with intent to flatter) would certainly strengthen unity of the Afro-American community and labor on matters of mutual and enlightened self-interest.

We in the AAHA feel strongly against all attacks on the labor movement. Even at its weakest moments, that movement is the most decisive force in the nation for democracy. We in the AAHA, recalling the days of the CIO, feel certain that the great democratic potential of labor can be strengthened through a growing and strong alliance between labor and communities of American citizens of African descent. It should be clear to intelligent labor leaders that the employer interests, working through either of the old parties, work assiduously against this alliance and constantly work to keep the Afro-American communities in their pockets, oftimes against the interest of both labor and the Afro-American communities.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN HERITAGE ASSOCIATION
306 E. 43rd STREET • SUITE 14 • DR 3-7660 • CHICAGO 15

By '63, large sections of the nation must and will take note of the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation. This Proclamation promises equality and freedom to American citizens of African descent, that brought their brave and decisive help to guarantee Civil War Victory. For some few years following that War, Reconstruction Democracy existed in the South, with both the freedmen and the poor whites (who had never voted under the slave-holder) voting and holding public office. In a few short years, 'Northern monied interests and/or employers" with the "former slave-holders or rebels", organized the Great American Conspiracy. This Conspiracy, through what is known as the Hayes-Tilden Compromise, saw the actually elected President of the United States, Samuel J. Tilden, have the election of 1876 stolen from him through the Conspiracy's having the election thrown into the House of Representatives.

The Great Conspiracy brought in its wake several realities that will not down: 1. The strapping on the nation and labor of the two party system, with the unholy alliance of Northern Republican and Southern Democrats; 2. The lynching by official count of over five thousand human beings of African descent, with untold numbers maimed and "shanghaied", with not a lyncher brought to justice; 3. The driving of poor whites and Afro-Americans from the polls and from public office in the South; 4. The bringing to power in the nation, under the sponsorship of big business, the unequitable, malicious and reactionary disproportionate control and influence of the South in the Congress of the United States.

The Great Conspiracy of '76 seemed directed against American citizens of African descent. In reality they were first and foremost directed against labor and the labor movement; witness to this day the sparse and under par organization of the unorganized workers in the South and the run-away plants from the North! In full truth, what appeared in the Hayes deal with the Southern rebels and former slave-holders as a Conspiracy against Afro-Americans has turned out to be a Conspiracy against the whole American people. Indeed, it is out of this Conspiracy that com the most dynamic and corrupt persecutors of you personally and your union, often the main driving force against the whole labor movement.

Finally, pardon us if we make so bold as to declare, that unless the Great Conspiracy of Northern Republican Big Business and the former slave-holders or rebels is unwind there is no future for our nation. The Afro-American communities are becoming increasingly aware of this reality. For this reason they fight with great suffering and sacrifice. They in truth fight as much for labor and the American people as they do for themselves.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN HERITAGE ASSOCIATION
306 E. 43rd STREET · SUITE 14 · DR 3-7660 · CHICAGO 15

Mr. James Hoffa

May 22, 1962

Best wishes in the right against the recently announced efforts by government to harass you in the hope that your union will be destroyed or greatly emasculated.

Fraternally yours,

AFRICAN-AMERICAN HERITAGE ASSOCIATION

David R. Poindexter

David R. Poindexter
Asst. National Director

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Fisk University
X Cawley, F.B.
X Contributions

March 14, 1962

Mr. F. B. Cawley
Route 2
Sudbury, Mass.

Dear Mr. Cawley:

I have your letter of March 3rd, and while I will be happy to see you on your forthcoming trip to Washington, I am sorry that I cannot give you encouraging news as to our Union participating in the Fisk Centennial Fund. The financial situation in our International Union, due to the heavy legal expenses in the past few years makes it necessary that we eliminate all expenditures to outside organizations. Any change in this situation which would result in a future consideration of Fisk University will be brought to your attention at that time.

Very truly yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant
to the General President

HJG/mc

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

Route 2, Sudbury, Mass.
March 3rd, 1962.

Dear Harold:

On January 17th, at your suggestion, I wrote you a letter, enclosing material description of Fisk University and the Fisk Centennial Fund. This printed matter and the Fisk appeal for a financial contribution, you planned to present to your Board.

Come Monday and/or Tuesday, March 26 and/or 27, I expect to be in Washington. I would hope to call on Mr. Hoffa and you, if, happily,

Office of the General President

To:

From:

11/24/64
DATE

Fisk, University	Bulliten	HJG	1/19/62
RE: IBT participating in the above	1/4/62		
named Universitys Centennial	1/8/62		
Program	1/17/62		
	3/3/62		3/5/62

The above file has not been returned for filing as of 11/24/64

File

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fisk University
X
X

337 Concord Road
Sudbury, Mass.
October 9, 1961

H. J. Gibbons, Executive Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs,
Warehousemen and Helpers of America
25 Louisiana Avenue, NW
Washington, 1, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I continue to be hopeful that the Teamsters' Union may now find it possible to help Fisk in its Centennial Campaign effort. Come November 15 or 16, I expect to be in Washington and would like to ca ll on your. Would you be good enough to write me at my Sudbury address?

Sincerely,

F. B. Cawley

ENCLOSURE
FBC:kgo

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fisk University
X
X

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

337 Concord Road
Route 2
Sudbury, Mass.
July 15, 1961

Harold J. Gibbons, Executive Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs,
Warehousemen and Helpers of America
25 Louisiana Avenue, N.W.
Washington, 1, D.C.

Dear Harold:

Later on in the summer, I plan to be in Washington and would like to call on you, or Mr. Hoffa, to speak further of the effort we are making to secure Fisk, financially, as the college looks forward to a second century of usefulness to Negro young men and women. Fisk will be one hundred years old in 1966.

Friends of Fisk, the alumni, organized labor, certain churches, foundations, business and industrial firms are adding strength to the Fisk Centennial Program which is now well under way. We want the teamsters union with us.

I am enclosing a copy of the Program brochure, which I think you will like to read and which I wish you would hand to Mr. Hoffa. - not rec'd for files

Would you be good enough to write me at my Sudbury address?

Sincerely,

F. B. Cawley, Director
Development Department

ENCLOSURE
FBC:kgo

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Fisk University

FISK UNIVERSITY CENTENNIAL PROGRAM

1866-1966

280 Madison Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.
ORegon 9-5750

January 6, 1961

Mr. H. J. Gibbons, Executive Vice President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs,
Warehousemen and Helpers of America
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

Thank you for speaking with me while I was in Washington yesterday. I understand how true it must be that you have all you can think of for the time being. After your next convention meeting, I'll come in to see you again, as you have suggested. Meanwhile, I wish you would read the enclosed "Education for Knowledge and Understanding," which sets forth Fisk's needs.

The Trustees continue to hope your Union may make a gift of $25,000 toward the Permanent Scholarship Fund. Such a gift would mean keeping one student in college throughout the years to come, and the principle ammount would become part of the $3,000,000 Endowment which Fisk seeks as part of the $6,000,000 Fisk University Centennial Program.

You and I have spoken of the possibility of the Union's gift being a memorial to one of your leaders.

With every good wish, believe me,

Sincerely,

F. B. Cawley

F. B. Cawley

FBC:jw

Enclosures

REPLY TO:

F. B. Cawley
337 Concord Road
Route 2
Sudbury, Massachusetts

Fisk University
Centennial
Program

EDUCATION FOR KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING

IN 1966, Fisk University will be 100 years old. To prepare for its second century of service to the nation, the Trustees have established a $6,000,000 Centennial Program with the purpose of expanding the University's historic role—education for knowledge and understanding.

A Century of Achievement

Founded on January 9, 1866, for the "education and training of young men and women irrespective of color" Fisk University in its first 100 years moved beyond the dreams of its founders to become one of the outstanding liberal arts colleges in America.

Against the backdrop of a nation recovering from a civil war, Fisk was founded on little more than faith. Its aim was simple: to help educate a newly-freed people by producing Negro teachers to radiate across the country. Their mission: to make citizens out of former slaves.

The personal service and financial assistance which friends of Fisk brought to this infant school were magnificent. However, the cause was so challenging, funds were woefully insufficient to quench the ex-slaves' ardent thirst for knowledge.

Five years after the founding of Fisk University, a small group of students, known as the Jubilee Singers, embarked upon a tour of the nation to raise money for the school. Introducing the world to the Negro spiritual, they sang their way throughout the North and East and beyond the seas. A wave of enthusiasm met them and the response through gifts kept the University alive.

Nothing in Fisk's tradition is more inspiring than the Jubilee Singers who, with changing personnel but unwavering excellence, continued through the years as an indispensable fund raising ensemble. Jubilee Hall, built in 1873, stands today as a monument to the original singers.

During the early years, Fisk's phenomenal growth in size and stature was due to the enormous generosity of the American people. Untold numbers of individuals and organizations quickly recognized Fisk's devotion to the providing of educated leadership for the masses of freedmen, and enthusiastically lent financial support. Gradually the states began to assume some of the responsibility for the higher education of the Negro. Vocational training mushroomed and financial support for Fisk – a liberal arts college – began to slacken.

Despite this, Fisk clung tenaciously to its original aim. Its scope was broadened so that its service was not limited merely to the slaves freed by the Civil War. Rather, it became an integral part of the development of liberal arts education in America.

The University today is especially noted for its distinguished graduates who have contributed significantly to America's strength in the fields of science, education, medicine, business, law, music, government, religion and art. These men and women have not only provided vital leadership to the Negro communities in which they work, but also they have added to this nation's domestic and international stature.

This contribution has not gone unheeded. In addition to early recognition by the New York State Board of Regents, Fisk became the first Negro institution to be fully approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the Association of American Universities, and the American Association of University Women.

Fisk became the first predominately Negro liberal arts college to be named a sponsoring university of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies. This further enriched its service to its own students . . . and to America.

When the Ford Foundation selected institutions to experiment with a program of admitting students to college before finishing high school, Fisk was one of twelve colleges and universities chosen.

On April 4th, 1953, a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa was installed at Fisk, making it the first predominately Negro institution of higher education in the country to receive such high academic recognition. Shortly afterwards, the New York Times saluted Fisk editorially with these words:

"Congratulations to Fisk, and congratulations to Phi Beta Kappa! Each is an honor to the other."

A Second Century of Challenge

With the last half of the twentieth century upon us, Fisk can offer even greater service to America as our nation meets the social challenges that lay in wait. This is true because higher education has reached an unprecedented level of importance to the nation and to the individual. Neither can afford the high cost of low quality education. The future of Fisk University can be justified solely on the continued excellence of its program, its ability to offer gifted young Americans an education appropriate for their times.

As it prepares to enter its second century of service, Fisk rededicates itself to the challenge of providing leadership and understanding necessary throughout America—and indeed the world—to effect the orderly procession toward the democratic ideal.

Fisk can meet this challenge by obtaining an adequate endowment to assure a strong and scholarly faculty, and by embarking immediately upon a physical development program.

Education of high quality is costly. It cannot be found in any bargain basement. Because Fisk has never made peace with mediocrity, it must not now as it enters its second century. Substantial financial support is the only answer.

Fisk must retain the traditions and ideals upon which it was founded and those which have evolved as it grew into greatness. It must remain a cultural and educational center to which America can look with certainty for a supply of forceful leaders.

THE NEEDS ARE URGENT

Translated into reality, the needs for physical facilities and endowment to continue this tradition are urgent. The requirements for Fisk to meet the challenge of the second century are described as follows:

Endowment ***$3,000,000***

During the past two years, the University has raised fees approximately $200 per student per year, but it is still fighting a losing battle to attract and hold able faculty members. The future of Fisk demands the retention and acquisition of the best possible teachers. We can substitute for many things in the educative process, but there is no substitute known for the great teacher and scholar. Without them, there can be no great university.

In addition to better salaries for teachers, more funds are urgently needed to continue to attract gifted students who are unable to carry the full cost of a liberal education. Fisk has always made a deliberate effort to seek out superior students. Through scholarship aid, Fisk has helped to develop some of the nation's outstanding citizens.

Auditorium and Fine Arts Building — *$1,000,000*

Fisk University has never had an auditorium. From the beginning it has been forced to use the small University church, thus severely limiting its widely heralded cultural program. The present student body overflows this building. It is inadequate, both from the standpoint of an increasing enrollment, and for the range and quality of programs so necessary to a liberal education.

One of Fisk's outstanding areas of achievement has been its Music Department. Yet, it has never been properly housed. Instruction is carried on in three separate buildings, each of which is grossly inadequate. Practice rooms are few and far below standard. There is no space whatever for the storage of instruments.

The Art Department is presently housed on the first floor of a women's dormitory. Lighting is poor and space is extremely limited.

Speech and Drama courses are conducted in the Little Theater, a converted Civil War field hospital, hopelessly inadequate for the purpose.

Among the art treasures hanging in Fisk's Carl Van Vechten Gallery are a group of paintings regarded as "among the finest collection of pioneer American abstracts" in the nation. This collection, part of a gift from Mrs. Alfred Stieglitz (Miss Georgia O'Keefe) along with many Stieglitz photographs and other valuable art pieces is a rare and enriching addition to Fisk's cultural program. They must be protected by fireproof and moisture-proof construction. In addition, more space is needed for traveling exhibits.

The Trustees have developed plans to house all these needs under one roof—a combination auditorium and fine arts building.

Biology and Physics Building — *$600,000*

The present building was constructed in 1906 and was not designed for the teaching of modern physics and biology. There is limited space for equipment and facilities for teaching. Moreover, laboratories are much too small, creating a problem in program scheduling and multiplying instructional costs.

Renovation of Jubilee and Livingstone Halls — *$800,000*

These two dormitories are among the oldest buildings on the campus. Jubilee Hall was built in 1873 as a tribute to the Jubilee Singers and Livingstone Hall was constructed in 1879. Both have excellent stone exteriors but the interiors, in the interest of safety, must be completely renovated to provide suitable living facilities.

Facilities for Physical Education — *$250,000*

Fisk offers a major for the training of teachers in health and physical education, yet it has no swimming pool. This is a facility which many colleges and universities of lesser stature than Fisk offer for the training of young people planning careers in health and physical education. The estimated cost of a pool is $200,000.

Fisk is forced to play its football games on the grounds of a nearby high school. The University has an excellent site near the gymnasium which could be graded and inexpensive seats installed. This could be done at the modest cost of $50,000 and would add greatly to student morale.

Rehabilitation of the Campus — *$285,000*

ELECTRICAL DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM With the addition of new buildings in the post-war period, the campus electrical system has become inadequate. Presently every major transformer on the campus is overloaded. A modern, up-to-date electrical system is badly needed.

MODERNIZATION OF THE HEATING PLANT The Heating plant, like the electrical system, is unable to service the added facilities and has outlived its usefulness. Much of the equipment is obsolete and major repairs are a constant requirement. Modernization will save considerable annual operating cost, and the heating capacity can be increased.

CAMPUS LIGHTING SYSTEM The campus of Fisk is poorly lighted. For the safety of students and others visiting the University a new lighting system is essential.

UNIVERSITY SWITCHBOARD With the increase of telephones on the Campus the facility now in use is obsolete and expensive to maintain which causes major bottlenecks in communications. Replacement by modern semi-automatic equipment is necessary.

THE AMERICAN IDEAL OF EQUALITY AND FREEDOM

. . . requires that each individual be given an equal opportunity to become well educated, to exercise responsible citizenship, and to develop his full stature in a democratic society.

There is no known objective of greater significance. This is a time when we need all the intelligence and understanding . . . all of the best which human resources can provide to meet the ever-growing demands of a complex civilization.

Giving to the Fisk Centennial Program is, therefore, more than just a token of respect for a distinguished institution. It is also a means by which the nation is served during a period when social growth may be assured only through the development of greater knowledge and understanding.

FISK UNIVERSITY CENTENNIAL PROGRAM

THE HON. JOHN HAY WHITNEY, *Honorary Chairman*

JUDSON BEMIS, *Chairman, Trustee Committee*

A. MAURICE WALKER, *Chairman, Alumni Committee*

(Committees are in the process of being formed)

Program Office: 680 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Ferrier C. Bailey
NASHVILLE

William H. Baldwin
NEW YORK

Judson Bemis
MINNEAPOLIS

L. Howard Bennett
MINNEAPOLIS

Reverend F. Q. Blanchard
CLEVELAND

Dr. Arthur H. Compton
ST. LOUIS

Dr. Percy P. Creuzot
NEW ORLEANS

Mrs. Helen Young Davis
BOSTON

Silliman Evans, Jr.
NASHVILLE

Reverend Raymond T. Ferris
NASHVILLE

Mrs. Bernard Fensterwald
NASHVILLE

Dr. John Hope Franklin
BROOKLYN

Mrs. William F. Gibbs
NEW YORK

C. A[illegible] Harlan
DETROIT

H. G[illegible]ell, Jr.
WILMINGTON

Dr. Wesley A. H[illegible]
NEW YORK

Mrs. Philip C. Jessup
NEW YORK

John H[illegible]ohnson
CHICAGO

Dr. Percy L. Julian
CHICAGO

Robert W. Kean, Jr.
ELIZABETH

Nicholas Kelley
NEW YORK

Dr. Theodore K. Lawless
CHICAGO

Calvin L. McKissack
NASHVILLE

The Hon. Wade H. McCree, Jr.
DETROIT

Dr. Franklin C. McLean
CHICAGO

W. H. Dasent Pell
NEW YORK

Wendell J. Phillips
NASHVILLE

Randall L. Tyus
NEW YORK

H[illegible] C. Wallace
WILMINGTON

Dr. Joseph C. Wiggins
CLEVELAND

Dr. G. Wallace Woodworth
BOSTON

Dr. William J. Zeigler
CHICAGO

Dr. Stephen J. Wright
President of Fisk University

Bart

NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

SUITE 803, 1101 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

EXECUTIVE BOARD
Charles A. Horsky, Chairman
Bishop Angus Dun, Vice-Chairman
William B. Bryant, Treasurer
James H. Heller, Secretary
Bruce Bowman
John W. Eckman
Abe Fortas
James E. Hogan
Mrs. Harold L. Ickes
Dr. Robert E. Martin
Edward P. Morgan
Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr.
Rev. Rudolph W. Nunner
Mrs. Henry F. Pringle
Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
David H. Scull
Mrs. Alys Spearman
Gerhard P. Van Arkel

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE ✓
Civil Rights
X National Civil
Liberties Clearing
House

March 10, 1962

Dear Fellow ACLU Member:

Again this year the National Civil Liberties Clearing House will sponsor an Annual Conference on civil liberties and civil rights on Thursday and Friday, March 29 and 30, 1962, at the Hotel Sheraton Carlton in Washington. The ACLU has participated very closely in the work of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House since its inception 14 years ago.

As you will note from the enclosed program, the major speaker at the conference dinner this year is going to be John deJ. Pemberton, Jr., the new Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who is replacing Patrick Murphy Malin. I am sure that all National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union members will be vitally interested in his timely topic "Champions of Liberty - The Developing Role of Voluntary Organizations". May I sincerely urge you to attend the conference or any of its functions. If you can, would you please send in the attached registration form as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Horsky

Charles Horsky
Chairman
National Capital Area
Civil Liberties Union

AGENCIES registered as sending representatives or observers to the National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference in 1961 included:

Alliance of Unitarian Women
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO
American Association for the United Nations
American Association of University Professors
American Book Publishers Council
American Civil Liberties Union
American Council on Education
American Council on Human Rights
American Ethical Union
American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO
American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
American Friends Service Committee
American Humanist Association
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Library Association
American Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO
American Nurses Association
American Veterans Committee, Inc.
Americans for Democratic Action
A. M. E. Zion Church
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Arlington Human Relations Council
Association for Childhood Education, International
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs
B'nai B'rith Women
Brandeis University
Christian Science Committee on Publication
Civil Liberties Education Foundation
Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO
Council of Churches, National Capital Area
Delta Sigma Theta
District of Columbia:
Commissioners' Council on Human Relations
Commissioners' Youth Council
Public Library
Public Schools
Recreation Department
Teachers College
Fisk University
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Friends Committee on Race Relations
Government Affairs Institute
Hadassah
Howard University
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO
Japanese American Citizens League
Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington
Jewish War Veterans of the U. S. A.
League of Women Voters
Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Department of Public Relations
Methodist Church:
Board of Christian Social Concern
Women's Division, Board of Missions
Metropolitan Women's Democratic Club
Michigan Fair Employment Practices Committee
Motion Picture Association of America
National Alliance of Postal Employees
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Association of Broadcasters
National Association of Deans of Women
National Association of Inter-Group Relations Officials
National Association of Social Workers
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Committee Liaison
National Council for American-Italian Friendship, Inc.
National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Education Association:
Defense Commission
Department of Rural Education
National Federation of Catholic College Students
National Jewish Welfare Board
National Lutheran Council
National Religion and Labor Foundation
National Urban League
Neighbors, Inc.
People's Congregational Church
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
President's Committee on Government Contracts
Prince William Council on Human Relations
St. Luke's Episcopal Church
Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights
Seventh Day Adventists
Social Legislation Information Service
Southeast Fellowship for Social Justice
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Temple Sinai, Social Action Committee
Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Automobile Workers of America, AFL-CIO
United Church of Christ
United Church Women
United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
U. S. Department of Defense
U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
U. S. Department of Justice
U. S. Department of Labor
U. S. Housing and Home Finance Agency
U. S. Information Agency
U. S. Veterans Administration
United States National Students Association
United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO
Virginia State Conference, NAACP Branches
Washington Cathedral
Washington Ethical Society
Washington Urban League
The White House
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Y. W. C. A., National Board

The National Civil Liberties Clearing House

. . . is a voluntary association of national organizations for the promotion of knowledge, the development of understanding and the dissemination of factual information and educational materials in the fields of civil liberties, civil rights, intellectual freedom and human rights.

. . . is limited both in its continuing program and its annual Conferences to the promotion of education and information in these fields. It is in no sense an action organization, and is prohibited by its constitution from adopting positions or making policy statements on any issues.

. . . aims in its annual Conferences and monthly meetings to bring together representatives of its associated groups and other invited agencies for free, full and informed discussion and analysis of current issues in its fields, and for consideration of ways to help strengthen and preserve our constitutionally-guaranteed freedoms.

For further information, write or telephone the

NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE

1637 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington 6, D.C. Dupont 7-6300

THE NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE

invites you to attend its

14th Annual Conference

MARCH 29 and 30, 1962

HOTEL SHERATON CARLTON

WASHINGTON, D. C.

PROGRAM

The Crystal Room

Thursday, March 29

1:00 p.m. *Registration desk opens*

2:00 p.m. Call to order ..... ROY H. MILLENSON, *Chairman, National Civil Liberties Clearing House; Washington National Representative, American Jewish Committee*

CIVIL RIGHTS—PROBLEMS, PROGRESS AND PROGNOSIS

Chairman ..... HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Vice President, The Potomac Institute*

JOHN G. FEILD
Executive Director,
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

BURKE MARSHALL
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division,
U. S. Department of Justice

SPOTTSWOOD W. ROBINSON, III
Dean of the School of Law, Howard University;
Member, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

Conference Discussion

6:30 p.m. *Registration*

7:00 p.m. Dinner Meeting ..... MR. MILLENSON, *presiding*

CHAMPIONS OF LIBERTY—THE DEVELOPING ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

JOHN DE J. PEMBERTON, JR.
Executive Director,
American Civil Liberties Union

Friday, March 30

9:00 a.m. *Registration*

9:30 a.m. THE GROWING AMERICAN CITY—A THREAT TO INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES?

Chairman ..... LAWRENCE SPEISER, *Director, Washington Office, American Civil Liberties Union*

RICHARDSON DILWORTH
Mayor of Philadelphia, 1956-1962
Past President, U. S. Conference of Mayors
Past President, American Municipal Association

BERL I. BERNHARD
Staff Director, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

GERALD A. BERLIN
Assistant Attorney General, Division of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties,
Office of the Attorney General of Massachusetts

Conference Discussion

12:30 p.m. Luncheon Meeting ..... MR. MILLENSON, *presiding*

THE RADICAL RIGHT: CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER ATTACK

Chairman ..... JACOB CLAYMAN, *Administrative Director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO*

ALAN F. WESTIN
Department of Public Law and Government, Columbia University

MORRIS ABRAM
Vice President, American Jewish Committee;
Former General Counsel, U. S. Peace Corps

EDITH GREEN
Member of Congress, Third District, Oregon

Conference Discussion

4:30 p.m. Adjournment

The National Civil Liberties Clearing House

Officers

Chairman
ROY H. MILLENSON
(American Jewish Committee)

•

Vice Chairmen
CIVIL LIBERTIES
LAWRENCE SPEISER
(American Civil Liberties Union)
CIVIL RIGHTS
CLARENCE MITCHELL
(National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)
HUMAN RIGHTS
J. ARNOLD FELDMAN
(American Veterans Committee)
INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM
DR. LOUIS JOUGHIN
(American Association of University Professors)

•

Secretary
EDWARD F. SNYDER
(Friends Committee on National Legislation)

Treasurer
MOE HOFFMAN
(National Jewish Welfare Board)

•

Administrative Committee
JACOB CLAYMAN
(Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO)
HERMAN EDELSBERG
(Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith)
EDWARD L. ERICSON
(American Ethical Union)
ROBERT W. FRASE
(American Book Publishers Council)
GERMAINE KRETTEK
(American Library Association)
OLINDA M. ROETTGER
(Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod)
ALAN BARTH
ELEANOR BONTYCOU
CHARLES A. HORSKY

•

Advisory Board
FRANCIS BIDDLE, Chairman
DOUGLAS M. BLACK
GRENVILLE CLARK
DR. ROBERT F. CUSHMAN
EMERSON GREENAWAY
MONTY HOLLANDER
WALTER P. REUTHER

Committees for the Conference

CO-CHAIRMEN FOR THE CONFERENCE—
Harold C. Fleming *and* Lawrence Speiser

ARRANGEMENTS ..... Olinda Roettger, *chairman;* Julie Barrows, Rosaline Fisher, Betty Shapiro

ATTENDANCE ..... Russell Bradley, *chairman;* Bernice Brigham, Walter B. Lewis, Dr. Lewis I. Maddocks, Jason Silverman, Don Slaiman

CONFERENCE REPORT ..... Theodor Schuchat, *chairman;* Edward L. Ericson, Eunice Grier, Edward F. Snyder, Alan L. Wurtzel

HOSPITALITY ..... Julia C. Thompson, *chairman;* Martha Aries, Virginia Kinnaird, Germaine Krettek, Margaret McCune, Martha Mills, Irma Pieplho, Dorsey Tourevue, Martha Wildbach

LITERATURE ..... Arnold J. Feldman, *chairman;* Dr. Edwin W. Davis, Walter G. Davis, Howard Hubbard, Richard Lambert, Lee Levy, Shirley Koteen, Emily Reed

PRESS ..... Page Wilson, *chairman;* David A. Brody, Norma Gordon, Leon Lomax, Bernard Simon, Penelope Wright

PROGRAM ..... Mr. Fleming, Mr. Speiser, Jacob Clayman, Herman Edelsberg, Violet Gunther, James A. Hamilton, Olya Margolin, Clarence Mitchell, Felix Putterman

REGISTRATION AND INFORMATION—
Frances Neely, *chairman;* Valre Davis, Charlotte Friedman, Lucia Lhamon, Clemmie Lewis, Eva Sofer, Edna Strauss

---

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ..... Mary Alice Baldinger

(Flowers by courtesy of FLOWERS, Inc.)

To: National Civil Liberties Clearing House,
1637 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.,
Washington 6, D. C.

REGISTRATION FOR ORGANIZATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

From: Organization _____

Address _____

The following will attend the 14th annual National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference at the Hotel Sheraton Carlton, Washington, D. C., on March 29 and 30, 1962. *Check covering fee registration fee of $5.00 per person, plus cost of meals checked below for each, is enclosed.*

NAME	ADDRESS	REGISTRATION $5	DINNER MARCH 29 $7	LUNCHEON MARCH 30 $4.50	SPECIAL RATE – $15.00*

REGISTRATION FOR INDIVIDUAL ATTENDANCE

My check for registration and the meals checked below is enclosed.

PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE.

Your early registration and advance payment will be most helpful.
Each registrant's tickets will be held in his name at the conference registration desks.

SCHEDULE OF CONFERENCE CHARGES

Payment of $5.00 registration fee for each representative, and payments for dinner and luncheon reservations, must be made in advance. Cost of meals includes gratuity.

Dinner $7.00

Luncheon 4.50

Registration 5.00

Single-session registration (without meal) $1.50

SPECIAL RATE for entire conference, covering all items above $15.00*

Organizations planning to be represented should make their own hotel reservations as early as possible.

No! Konvitz
LRH

June 28, 1961

Civil Rights
ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
x Prince Edward County, Virginia
x
x Griffin S. Francis

Mr. James R. Hoffa, President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters,
Convention Headquarters
Hotel Doenville
Miami Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

Prince Edward County, Virginia, is one of the five places in the original historic United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, requiring integration in public schools. However, Prince Edward authorities refused to accept this decision as the supreme law of the land and claimed it to be unconstitutional.

Later, the Supreme Court declined to grant a stay of the lower Court's order stating in effect that the schools of Prince Edward County must be integrated beginning September 1959. The Prince Edward Board of Supervisors (the law making body of the county) refused to appropriate any funds to operate any public school. As a result of this defiant and undemocratic action approximately 3,500 children of both races are suffering from educational malnutrition. Certain benigned segregationists, with the use of public funds, have established makeshift private school facilities. The Negro parents and their children refused to accept public funds for private education.

For the past two years the children in every hamlet, village, town and city throughout the United States were eager to return to schools after long summer vacations. They were eager partly because they would be in close contact with friends of their acquaintance and partly because they were aware that a free public school system is a part of the American democratic way of life. Yes, they were happy, that is, all but the children of Prince Edward County, Virginia, where the board of supervisors chose to close public schools rather than integrate. There is a possibility that the Negro children will have to be without formal training for the third year.

For the entire month of July the Virginia Teachers Association has volunteered to conduct a crash-remedial program in the county to upgrade Negro children who have been without public education for two years. Our organization, the Prince Edward County Christian Association, is responsible for the following: (1) to provide the necessary buildings where these remedial classes can be housed, (2) to provide board and lodging for the teachers who are coming into the county to teach these accelerated courses, (3) to provide transportation to and from the places of instruction nearest them. This, plus the fact, that we owe back salaries and expenses

amounting to nearly $5,000 to supervisors and assistants who worked in our training centers, compels us to ask for additional funds.

It may interest you to know that a group of citizens of Freeport, L.I., and vicinity have formed an organization known as the Prince Edward County School Committee to assist in providing some type of education for approximately 1800 Negro children presently without public schools. Many of the members of this group are members of your union. It was largely due to their efforts that we were supplied books, desks, and materials used in the training centers. It was at their request that Mr. John O'Rourke, President of Joint Council #16, made available trucks to transport the supplies to Prince Edward County without any cost to the local citizens. We owe a debt of gratitude to you, Mr. O'Rourke and the members of the Teamsters Union for such unprecedented generosity. Please accept our thanks.

Mrs. Sadie Krieger, wife of Mr. Samuel Krieger, who is a member of your union, is secretary of the Prince Edward County School Committee. I am certain that they are in attendance at the convention there. Therefore, if you are interested, these two persons would be able to supply you with detailed information. They have been very helpful in collecting material and money in the Long Island area to aid our cause in Prince Edward County.

Krieger is a BA for local 239. NY.

In light of the above facts, we appeal to you and the Teamsters Union to help us in the following ways:

1. Prepare a petition or letter petitioning the President, The Honorable John F. Kennedy, to use the powers of his great office in interest of the restoration of public schools in Prince Edward County. Send a marked copy to the Attorney General of the United States and an unmarked copy to our office here in Farmville.
2. Because of the pressing need for funds to meet our obligations in the county, we would appreciate the union or its members making a generous financial contribution toward defraying the cost of our program. If the union or individuals decide it possible to make contributions, make the checks and/or checks payable to the Prince Edward County Christian Association and mail to 628-A South Main Street, Farmville, Virginia.

If you are in sympathy with our requests in this letter but would need more information on our problem before making a decision, I would be happy to appear before your convention if your busy schedule provides time for such, to present the background and complete picture of the Prince Edward dilemma.

The Prince Edward County Christian Association prayerfully solicits your aid in helping us to find a just solution to our problem. We are determined to fight until we receive those rights which are a part of the American heritage. Regardless of our determination, the objectives we seek cannot be accomplished without

adequate funds. The Association, on behalf of the citizens of color acknowledges with deep and sincere appreciation the generous aid given us by members of the Teamsters Union.

May we solicit your early reply?

With sincere best wishes for a successful convention, we remain,

Very truly yours,

L. Francis Griffin
President

LFG:dc

Enclosure

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION MEMORANDUM

The Prince Edward County Christian Association's immediate and crisis objectives may be summarized thusly:

1. To work toward the restoration of public schools in Prince Edward County.
2. To initiate and supervise the placement of the Negro junior and senior High School students in accredited institutions of learning.
3. To set up study-play groups for the remaining children affected, lending such groups the necessary supervision and guidance.
4. To conduct a continuing educational and cultural program designed to elevate and broaden the cultural and educational perspective of the citizens of Prince Edward County and particularly the citizens of color.

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT
JOHN H. SENGSTACKE
CHICAGO DEFENDER

VICE PRESIDENT
E. WASHINGTON RHODES
PHILADELPHIA TRIBUNE

SECRETARY
LONGWORTH M. QUINN
MICHIGAN CHRONICLE

TREASURER
MRS. NANNIE MITCHELL TURNER
ST. LOUIS ARGUS

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

C. C. DEJOIE
LOUISIANA WEEKLY

CARLTON V. DOOOLETT
SAN FRANCISCO SUN-REPORTER

EMORY O. JACKSON
BIRMINGHAM WORLD

JOHN KIRKPATRICK
EAST ST. LOUIS CRUSADER

CARL MURPHY
AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

FRANK L. STANLEY
LOUISVILLE DEFENDER

WILLIAM O. WALKER
CLEVELAND CALL AND POST

THOMAS W. YOUNG
JOURNAL AND GUIDE

★

CREDO OF
THE
NEGRO PRESS

The Negro Press believes that America can best lead the world away from racial and national antagonisms when it accords to every man, regardless of race, color or creed, his human and legal rights. Hating no man, fearing no man, the Negro Press strives to help every man in the firm belief that all men have a fair chance and no one is held back.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
JOHN H. SENGSTACKE
2400 S. MICHIGAN AVE.
CHICAGO 16, ILL.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Negro Newspaper Week
X National Newspaper Publishers Association
X Kendrix, Moss H.
X Sengstacke, John H.

May 19, 1961

Mr. James R. Hoffa
General President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

On behalf of the members of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, I wish to thank you for your inspiring message during our 1961 observance of Negro Newspaper Week.

With our best wishes for your continued success.

Respectfully yours,

John H. Sengstacke
President

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

[redacted] National Negro Newspaper Week
x Kendrix, Moss H.
x National Newspaper Publishers Association

March 17, 1961

Mr. John H. Sengstacke, President
National Newspaper Publishers Association
The Chicago Daily Defender
2400 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Sengstacke:

On the occasion of National Negro Newspaper Week, please accept my congratulations for the selection of "the role of the minority press" as your theme.

We in the American labor movement have learned that great segments of the American press are given to one-sided presentations when they come to the interests of economic, religious or racial minorities. A strong and vital press that fights effectively for these just interests is indispensable to the true working of democracy. The Negro press in America can be justly proud of its role in this fight.

Please accept my sincerest best wishes for continuing strength and success in our common effort to build a better way of life for all our people.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JMcCarthy
JRH/gv

March 16, 1961

TO: Vice President Harold J. Gibbons

You asked for a recommendation on the attached. I would recommend that President Hoffa send a mess of greeting to the Negro press, as suggested in th letter. We will draft such a letter for your appr

Jake McCarthy

The Moss H. Kendrix ORGANIZATION

PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELORS AND MARKET CONSULTANTS

1826 11th STREET, N. W. ★ WASHINGTON 1, D. C. • NORTH 7-5115

March 14, 1961

Mr. James R. Hoffa, President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

In behalf of the Public Affairs Committee of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, we wish to bring to your attention the pending observance of the 134th anniversary of the founding of the first Negro newspaper in the United States, March 16, and the 23rd annual celebration of National Negro Newspaper Week, March 19-25. "The Role of the American Minority Press in a World of Unrest" has been designated by NNPA as theme for its 1961 Press Week Observance.

Since down through the years labor and the press have worked hand in hand in the cause of democracy, we thought you would like to know of these pending observances. It might be that, as head of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, you might wish to pay recognition to the Negro Press by addressing a message of felicitation to Mr. John H. Sengstacke, President, National Newspaper Publishers Association, The Chicago Daily Defender, 2400 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Attached for your information is a brief historical statement covering the Negro Press--there are approximately two hundred Negro newspapers in the United States.

Should you direct a message to the Negro Press through Mr. Sengstacke, MHKO would greatly appreciate receiving a copy of your statement.

With cordial good wishes.

Very truly yours,

Moss H. Kendrix

Moss H. Kendrix
For The National Newspaper Publishers Association

cc: Mr. John H. Sengstacke, President
National Newspaper Publishers Association

Mr. Frank L. Stanley, Chairman
NNPA Public Affairs Committee

WHAT THE PUBLIC THINKS—COUNTS

February 25, 1961

FROM News Bureau
The Moss H. Kendrix Organization
1826 Eleventh Street, NW
Washington 1, D. C.
NOrth 7-5115

NEGRO PRESS TO NOTE 134TH ANNIVERSARY, MARCH 16--NEGRO NEWSPAPER WEEK SET FOR MARCH 19-25--MAJOR NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADING INSTITUTIONS TO JOIN NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION IN WEEK'S EMPHASIS ON "ROLE OF THE AMERICAN MINORITY PRESS IN A WORLD OF UNREST"

For Immediate Release

Chicago--The National Newspaper Publishers Association has announced that the week of March 19-25 will be observed as National Negro Newspaper Week, while special observances will be promoted March 16 in tribute to the founding of the first Negro newspaper, Freedom's Journal, which appeared in New York City on March 16, 1827.

John H. Sengstacke, NNPA president and head of the Chicago (Ill.) Daily Defender and The Defender Publications, Inc., this week called upon all organizations, institutions and individuals interested in the "furtherance of the democratic ideal to join with the nation's Negro press in observing its 134th anniversary." Freedom's Journal was founded by John Russwurm and Rev. Samuel Cornish. NNPA has designated "The Role of the American Minority Press in a World of Unrest" as press week theme.

"Through the ages," noted Mr. Sengstacke, "Negro newspapers have stood willingly and actively ready to serve the needs of this great democratic nation. In both of the World Wars, the Negro element of the American Fourth Estate gave every reassurance of its complete and unselfish devotion to the American way of life. Today this devotion to the national cause is no less articulate, while the Negro press must likewise serve its traditional purpose and immediate needs of its environment."

The annual press week event is a project of NNPA's Public Affairs Committee. Frank L. Stanley, editor-publisher, The Louisville (Ky.) Defender, is chairman of the body on which also serve Thomas W. Young, president, The Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide, and Moss H. Kendrix, director, The Moss H. Kendrix Organization, Washington, D. C. Mr. Kendrix directed the week during the years 1938-1943, while the approaching is the 23rd annual observance of the Negro Press Week celebration. Organizations and institutions throughout the nation will observe the founder's day and week.

The names of early Negro newspapers indicated the purpose to which they were dedicated. In addition to Freedom's Journal, there were such designations as Rights of All, Mirror of Liberty, Elevator, Clarion and Genius of Freedom. "It is quite appropriate," notes Mr. Stanley, "that in turbulent times like these the NNPA would suggest to the Negro press that it reexamine the role of a minority press."

-30-

THE NEGRO PRESS
Yesterday and Today

One hundred and thirty-four years ago, the first Negro newspaper appeared in the United States.

In the year 1827, a group of Negro leaders in New York City met to discuss the problems of the race and resolved to publish a weekly journal to espouse the cause of freedom and the citizenship status of the free Negroes.

Thus on March 16, 1827, John Russwurm, a free Negro, published the first issue of "Freedom's Journal," in New York City, the first Negro American newspaper. Associated with Mr. Russwurm was the Reverend Samuel Cornish, also of New York.

These two pioneers of Negro journalism dedicated themselves to the cause of their oppressed brothers in the South and to the advancement of the Negroes who had escaped to the North.

According to historians, Mr. Russwurm's career in journalism was brief and he was captured by the Colonization Society and sent to Africa. His newspaper was suspended, but other Negro editors sprang up and began publishing newspapers to light the path of freedom.

The names of early Negro newspapers indicate the purposes which they were dedicated. In addition to Freedom's Journal, there were such designations as Rights of All, Mirror of Liberty, Elevator, Clarion, Genius of Freedom and North Star.

Today there are upward of two hundred Negro publications in the United States. These publications have a total per issue circulation of approximately two million copies, which are read by an estimated nine million members of the race.

* Every movement for the advancement of Negroes, including the abolition of slavery, has been championed through Negro newspapers.

* Negro newspapers employ thousands of trained workers in the United States.

* Thousands of jobs in fields considered closed to Negroes have been opened to the youth of the race, through the incessant fighting of the Negro Press.

* The mechanical and editorial standards of leading Negro newspapers are steadily improving.

* The total value of printing equipment and buildings owned by Negro newspapers in the United States is conservatively estimated at not less than fifteen million dollars.

* The Negro newspaper remains a vehicle for the unbiased dissemination of news for and about Negroes of the United States.

Although various advertising media have sprung up over the nation in competition for newspaper advertising, the Negro newspaper still remains the most popular and effective medium for reaching the Negro buying public.

This is because the Negro people still look to their own newspapers to champion the interests of the race at all times, as they could not always expect such protection to be rendered by others.

The Negro owns and operates his own newspapers and they appeal to him in a peculiar way that no other publication or advertising media can.

National Negro Newspaper Week

NEGRO PRESS*

1827-1961
A GUIDING LIGHT FOR 134 YEARS

*(Poem by J. Edward McCall, late editor-publisher, The Tribune. Detroit, Michigan)

COME, let us sing of the Negro Press,
Sing of its courage, its trials, its success;
Sing of its fight for the right, waged so long
In defense of our people who suffer much wrong.
There's power in the printed page, power in the pen,
Power in the Negro Press and its news men,
Who, for the past hundred and thirty-four years,
Have guided and guarded us and assuaged our fears.
Russwurm and Cornish, may their souls rest in heaven,
Launched the first Negro weekly in 1827,
And from that time down to the present hour,
Negro newspapers have grown in influence and power.
We can't build and run thriving journals with foam,
Some good Negro papers should be in each home.
Then let's make each week "Negro Newspaper Week,"
By supporting the Press through which we speak.

Office of the General President

To: John McCarthy

From: M. J. Gibbons

Civil Rights – Negro in Business and Culture Inc.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE

X

Contribution

Please prepare a full page ad for the 3rd Annual Exposition of the Negro in Business and Culture, Inc. Souvenir Program Book.

M. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

MJG/yh

Office of the General President

To: Mr. English

From: H. J. Gibbons

3/23/61
DATE

This will authorize the issuance of a check in the amount of $300.00 for a full page ad for the 3rd Annual Exposition of the Negro in Business and Culture, Inc. Souvenir Program Book.

John McCarthy has been asked to prepare the necessary copy for this ad.

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yh
Attachment

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
X Kriegler, Arthur
X Afro-American
Newspaper

June 13, 1960

Mr. Ernest Calloway
Central Conference of Teamsters
1641 S. Kingshighway
St. Louis 10, Missouri

Dear Cab:

Attached is a communication which we received in this office, and I am wondering if you have any suggestions as to what we should do about this matter.

Fraternally yours,

H. J. Gibbons
Executive Assistant to the
General President

HJG/yh
Enc.

Mr. Arthur Criegler
1619 N. Appleton Street
Baltimore 16, Maryland

May 1, 1960

President James R. Huffa
Teamsters Joint Council #55
401 3rd Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Huffa:

We of UPP #111 AFL-CIO are in desperate need of your support. At present, we are engaged in a momentous struggle to crush and annihilate the archaic and outmoded working conditions: pension plan ($30 per month after reaching age 65), sick and accident plan (half of $78 weekly salary after two weeks' illness and a quarter of a week's pay at end of 4th consecutive week of illness and no accident insurance whatsoever, the workers paying their own Blue Cross premiums), wage rates ($2.10 per hr., with an offer last week from the company of a 3 = year contract containing a raise of 5 = 3 = 2 cents for first second and third year respectively---these rates incomparison with $121 weekly paid by I.T.U. and $3 per hour paid by Afro's first three competitors) and work schedules: scheduled to work all hours of the day, including all Saturdays and Sundays, with only 6 paid holidays yearly), of the AFRO-American Newspaper Chain.

It might come as a surprise, but Mr. Carl Murphy, the alleged champion of civil rights, and a distinguished Negro leader, has consistently through the years flagrantly exploited his own colored workers. Many of you perhaps have felt the caustic lash of his editorials, calling for the immediate integration of all craft unions and the abolition of second class citizenship. The chasm between his editorial preachments and polices is wide long and deep. The man apparently masquerades as a liberal, but beneath this veneer apparently beats the heart of a black supremacist i.e., a man who wants to exploit his own race with no competition from his white competitors. Mr. Murphy, we believe, has certain anti-labor leanings. At present he is employing one of the most viciously anti-labor lawyer firms in the Baltimore area.

Realizing the power of the strike as a weapon in the arsenal of labor, you probable wonder why we have not "struck" the plant. The fact is, and unfortunate for us, that the plant is so organized --- 11 non-union teletype operators plus a disproportionate number of 13 company foremen --- that we forty-seven union members (linotype operators, ad

compositors, engravers. proofreaders, pressmen, stereotypers) cannot shut down the plant, thereby precluding the effectiveness of a strike. We have tried for all we're worth to get the teletype workers and foremen, too, to join the union. No success. The teletype workers were recently given a raise by the company. Now they are earring more weekly than the printers, an unhaard of situation in the trade.

We of UPP #111 do not believe in white or black supremacy. We believe in steady. unflinching, constructive progress in all areas of American life. We categorically refuse to continue shielding those avaricious opportunists in our race who are having a field day upbraiding white management and integrated labor for slow progress in the area of human rights.

Whatever you can do to aid us in our fight against this unfair situation at tha AFRO will be deeply appreciated. Any particulars to wit; wage scale comparisons, and copies of the AFRO's fringe benefits will gladly be sent under separate cover.

Help us to expose this enemy of labor. An active campaign is being launched to convince the Afro-American of the inherent evil toward the union. We will not stop until victory is ours, and a new day has dawned for UPP #111 workers and their families.

We have tried through the years to become members of the ITU Printing Craft, but due to the segregation that did exist in Local #12 ITU of Baltimore, Maryland we have been unable to get the ITU at the Afro. Therefore, we are trying to get the ITU standard in our Local #111 although Mr. Carl Murphy is bittarly against bringing his own colored workers up to date with tha Printing Craft.

With all Negro papers in America, the Afro is classified by their own acknowledgement. as the top Negro weekly in Amarica. We have no wey of firding out the Afro's financial status, so we are in urgent need of our bigger union brothers to call Mr. Carl Murphy on the carpet as he has called you on the carpet in his editorials for where you stand pertaining to the Negroes' right of joining interracial unions.

Yours truly,

Arthur Griegler

Arthur Griegler
UPP #111 President

Million $ Morgan fine arts building dedication May 4

Morgan State College still dedicates its million dollar Carl Murphy Auditorium-Fine Arts building in a series of events extending from May 4 to May 15, President Martin D. Jenkins announced today.

The honoree, which honors Dr. Carl Murphy, chairman of the Board of Trustees, will be formally dedicated Wednesday, May 4, 10 a.m.

Maryland Governor J. Millard Tawes will deliver the address.

The dedicatory series has been planned to emphasize the enduring values in the humanities in an age of technology and will present practitioners of the various arts, theorists, critics and scholars of eminence in lectures, symposia, recitals and an exhibition.

* * *

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, Harvard University professor of English and editor-in-chief of the John Hay Library, Artist Josef Albers of Yale University, and Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, are on the impressive list of dedication participants.

Integrated into the dedication series, all events of which are open to the public, will be the Third Annual Faculty-Student Conference sponsored by the Division of the Humanities and the Student Union.

The conference, scheduled for May 4-8, will consider the theme "Technology and the Arts."

Murphy Building provides the college with its first adequate auditorium and fine arts center in twenty years. Designed by Architect Paul L. Goodreau, the building will house the programs in art, music and dramatics.

* * *

UNIQUE FEATURES are workshops for art, individual practice rooms, a choir room and a band room for music, and the dramatics laboratory. The building has a 1,400 seat auditorium and a gallery for exhibitions.

The building covers 47,000 square feet and is one story.

Dr. Murphy, whom the building honors, has been a trustee of the college since 1937, and chairman of the board since 1952. His leadership has played a decisive part in the development of the impressive Morgan campus of today.

Dr. Murphy is president of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspaper Company and has had a distinguished career of public service. He is the recipient of the fortieth Spingarn Medal.

* * *

PROFESSOR JONES, poet, playwright, critic and author of many influential books on culture, will give a public address on Wednesday, May 4, 8:30 p.m.

He will discuss, "The Image of the Scholar."

Albers, one of the giants of contemporary art, will speak on "Facts versus Facts" at an invitational luncheon on Thursday, May 5, 12:15 p.m., Student Union Building.

May 5 will also mark the opening of an exhibition entitled "The Calculated Image." The opening will be held at 3:30 p.m.; the exhibition will run through May 15.

In addition to Albers, other artists whose works will be exhibited are: Ilya Bolotowsky, Giorgio Cavallon, Ben Cunningham, Ellsworth Kelly, Ibram Lassaw, Michael Loew, Kenneth Noland, Jose De Rivera, Ludwig Sanders and Sewell Sillman.

DR. JOHNSON, Howard University president, will speak on Sunday, May 8, 2:30 p.m. His topic is "The Place of Religion in the Modern World."

On Monday, May 9, 8:30 p.m., the Gamelan Singers and Dancers of the Embassy of Indonesia will be presented.

Featured on Tuesday, May 10, 2 p.m., will be a symposium on "Art and Responsibility."

Participating will be: Mrs. Adelyn Breeskin, director, Baltimore Museum of Art; Bernard Perlman, Baltimore Junior College; David W. Barton Jr., president, The Barton-Gillet Company; and Miss Eleanor P. Spencer of Goucher College. James E. Lewis, head of the Morgan Department of Art, will moderate.

George Walker, who has been acclaimed here and abroad as a pianist and composer of distinction, will appear in recital Wednesday, May 11, 10 a.m.

* * *

ALSO ON Wednesday, May 11 at 8:30 p.m., the Morgan Modern Dance Group will present a program of dance developing the theme "Life's Seasons."

Concluding program will be a recital by the Department of Music Education on Sunday, May 15, 2:30 p.m.

Featured will be: The College Choir, with Saul E. Lilienstein directing; The Concert Band, with R. Hayes Strider conducting, The Morgan Singers, Carol Blanton Diggs, pianist; Frances Berry Hill, organist, William Halthcock, violinist; and The String Ensemble.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x African Methodist
Episcopal Church
x Allen, Richard
x Greene, S. L. (Bishop)
x Invitation

March 7, 1960

Mr. S. L. Greene, Senior Bishop
African Methodist Episcopal Church
1105 Fountain Drive, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Bishop Greene:

Thank you for your kind letter of March 2nd, and while at the time I was disturbed over the whole incident, I now recognize it as just a minor unpleasantness. It is unfortunate that sometimes those who are supposed to live christianity are so lacking in some of its main attributes as to conducting themselves in this fashion.

However, please know that I understand your position in the whole matter.

Very truly yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH/yh

Residence Telephone: PLaza 8-2213

Office Telephone: JAckson 4-8516

7

THE GENERAL BOARD

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Bishop S. L. Greene, Chairman

1105 Fountain Drive, S. W.

Atlanta 14, Georgia

March 2, 1960

Mr. James R. Hoffa, Pres.
International Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

I was so embarrassed over the unfortunate incident, of which you are aware, until I had to take a little while to recover from it.

The few persons who touched off that sad incident I really believe were ill-advised to the extent that I do not now hold anything against them, but I just could not risk the unpleasantness that would have arisen at the climax of the greatest celebration, ever attempted by our church.

I do hope that like myself you are willing to forgive and forget it all.

With profound regard and high esteem. I am

Very sincerely,

S. L. Greene

S. L. Greene Senior Bishop
A.M.E. Church

SLG:bvc

To: Mr. Gibbons.

For your info. These notes submitted to Pres. Hoffa.

John

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE ✓

Allen, Richard

X African Methodist

■ Episcopal Church

X Greene S. L. (Bishop)

X Invitation

Notes for President Hoffa Speech in Philadelphia Feb. 16 before Richard Allen Bi-Centennial Observance.

(Richard Allen was founder of African Methodist Episcopal Church)

(According to invitation, President Hoffa is to "bring solicitation" so speech should probably be brief.)

1. Bring greetings from International Brotherhood of Teamsters, largest labor union in the world, embracing every race, every nationality, every religion.

2. Honored to be invited to pay homage to the memory of Richard Allen.

3. Bishop Allen, born a slave, later became a free man, is a symbol of the story of America--the story of the search for freedom and dignity.

   Bishop Allen is a symbol of brotherhood. So is the American trade union movement.

4. No human institution is perfect. American democracy is not perfect. The American system of economic justice is not perfect. The fight for racial equality and the fight for economic equality are part of the same fight.

   It is interesting to note that often the same men who are anti-civil rights are also anti-labor, anti-Catholic, anti-Jew, anti-better schools, anti-foreign aid, anti-almost everything.

5. We who are for a better way of life for America have a common bond. We are proud to say that in the largest trade union in the world--the Teamsters Union--there is no discrimination because of race, color or creed.

   We are proud to say that in the Southern States of the United States, our Teamster local unions are integrated unions.

   We are proud to say that two weeks ago in the city of New York, a Negro trade unionist, the son of a slave, was elected president of one of the largest local unions in the entire Teamsters Union.

   We are proud to say that a member of the Negro race was named recently to head up our entire political action program in the southern half of the State of Illinois.

We are proud to say that in Baton Rouge, La., in the heart of the Southland, where some of the citizens couldn't decide whether they hated the Negro race or the Teamsters Union worse, we met with hundreds of white and colored workers in the same union hall and told them face to face that "I believe all men are born equal with rights, and whether I get a vote here tonight or not, I will not stand here and tell you that an individual does not have the same rights because of color." And white and colored together in the state of Louisiana applauded that statement.

6. Remember that 46 years after the birth of Bishop Allen, in 1806 here in this very city of Philadelphia, Bishop Allen's home city, leaders of the Boot and Shoemakers Union were brought to trial on "an indictment for a combination and conspiracy to raise their wages."

The fight of the Negro people for dignity and freedom has been long and hard. So has the fight of the American worker, whatever his race or color.

All of us still have our enemies. Those who "have," in their selfishness and greed, still make war upon those who "have not."

It is a common fight we are in. The inspiration of men like Bishop Allen helps us tonight to rededicate ourselves to that fight. Thank you.

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Allen, Richard
African Methodist
Episcopal Church
Greene, S. L.
Invitation

January 22, 1960

Mr. S. L. Greene
General Chairman
Bi-Centennial Commission

Dear Mr. Green:

Thank you for your kind invitation to attend the Bi-Centennial Celebration Birthday for Richard Allen.

I shall do my utmost to be present as well as my Executive Vice President, Mr. Harold J. Gibbons.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH/jm/jk

Residence Telephone: PLaza 8-2213 Office Telephone: JAckson 4 8516

THE GENERAL BOARD

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Bishop S. L. Greene, Chairman
1105 Fountain Drive, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

January 20, 1960

Honorable James R. Hoffa
General President Teamsters Union
25 Louisiana Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Esteemed Sir:

You are hereby cordially invited to attend the Mammoth Banquet and to bring solicitation to the Bi-Centennial Celebration Birthday Richard Allen, Founder African Methodist Episcopal Church.

These exercises and festivities will be held in the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 6:00 P. M., Tuesday, February 16, 1960.

Hoping that you will find it conveniently to be present, I am

Very sincerely,

S. L. Greene

S. L. Greene
General Chairman
Bi-Centennial Commission

SLG:rkj

White and White
Public Relations Consultants
Where Ideas Originate and Pyramid
Luther R. White • Hinston H. White

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
white and white
x Greene Bishop
x A.M.E. church

November 13, 1959

Dear Jimmy:

Here is a copy of my letter to Bishop Greene in which I tell him it will be impossible for you to visit him during his conference in Tampa. As I have told you several times before, Bishop Greene is the Reigning Head of the A. M. E. Church of the world. More than 4,000,000 people will accept his designation of those who can be classified as our friends. I am making sure that he will thus classify the General President and the Teamsters.

Ernest Calloway, from St. Louis, Ernest Wright, from New Orleans, King, Campbell, and Shaw, from Detroit, are coming on here Sunday to attend a mass meeting which Rev. Hoover has called for the purpose of implementing the movement which Phil Randolph has initiated, to end discrimination in the AFL-CIO. Our Teamster representatives will get featuring on this occasion. We are taking advantage of every opportunity to make friends specifically for 1960.
I will see you Wednesday.

Cordially yours,

Luther

Luther R. White
White & White
Public Relations Consultants

LRW/cm
1 Enc.

Mr. James R. Hoffa, President
The International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Ave, S. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

1222 Prospect Avenue • Cleveland 15, Ohio • SUperior 1-7317

November 13, 1959

Dear Bishop Greene:

Mr. James R. Hoffa General President, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has asked me to express to you his sincerest thanks for inviting him to be your guest during your Tampa Conference. He asked me to tell you further that he is all the more appreciative because of the rarity of your gracious invitation.

Mr. Hoffa ventures the opinion that you, of all people, will understand how difficult it is for the head of a convention to get away from his own meeting for a day's visit, regardless of how much he might desire so to do. He is hopeful, therefore, that he may have the opportunity of seeing you when you both may be more relaxed and when the pressure upon your time may not be so compelling.

Mr. Hoffa would like to meet you in your office or in your home in Atlanta. To this end, he has instructed me to work out with you an appointment in the future when this wish may be fulfilled.

So, if you will be so kind as to give me at least three dates after your convention, when it will be convenient for you to see him in Atlanta, I will see to it that we reach an agreement on a definite day and time when I may introduce you two.

Cordially yours,

Luther R. White
White & White
Public Relations Consultants

St. Paul's A. M. E. Church
c/o Rev. S. M. Pack
506 Harrison Street
Tampa, Florida

LRW/ec

COPY

ADMINISTRATIVE FILE
Civil Rights
x Pittsburgh Courier
x

October 5, 1960

Ernest N. Morial, Esquire
1821 Orleans Avenue
New Orleans 16, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Morial:

I have your letter of October 3, and I want to express my appreciation for the kind sentiments contained therein.

Very truly yours,

James R. Hoffa
General President

JRH:es

ERNEST N. MORIAL
ATTORNEY AT LAW - NOTARY PUBLIC

1821 ORLEANS AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS 16, LOUISIANA
WHITEHALL 3-2086

3 October 1960

Mr. James R. Hoffa, President
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoffa:

I noticed with deep interest the advertisement of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters which appeared in the recent Anniversary Edition of the Pittsburgh Courier. You and your great Union are to be commended for having paid tribute to the Courier on its 50th Anniversary.

As you no doubt know, The Pittsburgh Courier throughout its 50 years has been the voice of the Negro American crying out for justice, equality and fair play toward the Negro. Your tribute to the Courier was a tribute to Negro Americans.

Very truly yours,

Ernest N. Morial

Ernest N. Morial

ENM/mjm